

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Charter 77

Full text of Czech human rights document

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'Illegal alien' scare in Los Angeles

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Support grows for Manzo defendants

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STEEL. THE FIGHT BACK CONTINUES

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In Brief

LANGUAGE DIFFICULTY: Perched in the Rocky Mountains, San Miguel County, New Mexico, is known to many Chicano activists because of the active Raza Unida party there. But a report on San Miguel County in the January 10 *New York Times* was probably the first time that many other people had heard of it. Why did the *Times* decide to fit in some news about the place? The San Miguel County Commission voted to conduct its business in Spanish (the area is 80 percent Chicano). Some Anglos were unhappy, and the English-language daily in Las Vegas, the county seat, protested that its reporter could not follow the proceedings. New Mexico's attorney general said it might be necessary to require a translation service. Wonder if they ever thought of that when it was the other way around?

FBI role in Texas burglary?

Houston socialists are demanding that Mayor Fred Hofheinz and the city council investigate possible FBI involvement in a February 14 political burglary at the home of Jill Fein. Fein was the Socialist Workers party candidate for Harris County commissioner, Precinct One, last fall.

Fein discovered the burglary when she returned home from work. Her house had been broken into and ransacked from top to bottom. Political files and correspondence had been stolen, but expensive items—including a stereo and television set—were left untouched.

Fein immediately contacted the Houston police. She informed them of the similarity between the February 14 break-in and burglaries in Denver carried out by FBI informer Timothy Redfearn. Redfearn was recently sentenced to up to ten years in Colorado's Buena Vista prison after his arrest for an FBI black-bag job at the Denver SWP's headquarters last summer.

The Houston robbery took place less than a week before Fein, who has lived in Houston more than four years, was planning to move to Phoenix, Arizona.



JILL FEIN

500 DEMONSTRATE FOR HOSTOS COLLEGE: Five hundred protesters turned out February 10 for a demonstration to maintain Hostos Community College. Hostos is the only bilingual college in the eastern United States.

Protests last year prevented the New York City Board of



February 10 demonstration protesting budget cuts at New York's Hostos Community College.

Higher Education from closing the Bronx school. But cuts have eliminated Hostos's highly successful nursing and medical laboratory programs, as well as other educational needs.

The evening after the demonstration, activists from Hostos—including Nilsa Saniel, student government president at the school—spoke about their struggle at the opening of the Bronx Militant Bookstore/Librería Militante Forum.

NEW NAZI THREATS AGAINST PASADENA SWP: On January 29 a man identifying himself as a member of the National Socialist [Nazi] White People's party telephoned the Pasadena Socialist Workers party campaign headquarters. His call, recorded on an answering service tape, said, "Hitler was right. We're going to ice-pick all you Trotskyites."

This is the latest in a series of Nazi threats and assaults on supporters of the Pasadena SWP campaign. Last spring shots were fired into the campaign headquarters one night after Nazis were seen taking down license plate numbers of cars parked outside.

The SWP's candidates for school board, Tim Mallory and Willie Petty, have been active in the struggle to desegregate Pasadena's public schools. The Nazis have announced

publicly that stopping desegregation is one of their main concerns.

Following this latest Nazi threat, the SWP repeated its demand that city authorities arrest and prosecute those responsible for the earlier vandalism of their offices.

PROTEST EXECUTIONS IN ARGENTINA: Opponents of political repression in Latin America demonstrated at the Argentine consulate in New York City February 10 to protest the threatened execution of forty-one political prisoners by the Videla dictatorship.

The emergency picket line was called by the Solidarity Committee with the Argentine People. It was supported by the Committee of Argentine Jews, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, and the newly formed Committee to Defend the Political Prisoners of the Frontier (in the Dominican Republic).

JOANNE LITTLE WINS WORK RELEASE: The North Carolina Board of Paroles has approved work release for Joanne Little. This means that as soon as she can line up a job, Little will be free to leave the Raleigh prison cell where she is serving a seven-to-ten-year sentence on burglary charges. Little will be eligible for parole at a later date. Little, a Black woman, waged a successful fight in 1975 against murder charges stemming from defending herself from a sexual assault by a white jailer.

PETER CAMEJO WINS A BET: During the question-and-answer period of an election-eve debate with Carter supporter Michael Harrington, Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential candidate, Peter Camejo, made a bet with a student in the audience. The student, worried that a Ford victory would mean further education cutbacks, explained that he was voting for Carter—even though he agreed with a lot of what Camejo said. Camejo wagered that the student would soon be protesting Carter's education cutbacks.

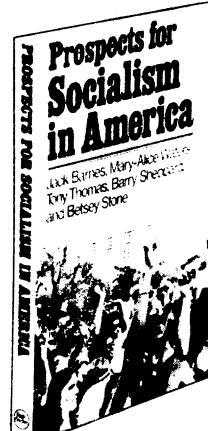
Well, the facts are beginning to come in already. The American Council on Education is warning that the results of Carter's plans for educational funding are "disastrous." The council says they signal "an apparent reversal of the federal commitment to expansion of educational opportunities by endorsing some of the worst Nixon-Ford cuts . . . and by ignoring the Democratic platform pledge to fund the campus-based student-aid programs."

The council said the Carter budget would cause a loss of 330,000 student jobs in the college work-study program, a reduction of 335,000 student loans, and a loss of 220,000 student-aid grants to low and middle-income students.

—Peter Seidman

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Hawk turns blind eye on Chile

Carter's cynical charade on human rights

By David Frankel

The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

In keeping with his claim to be a deeply moral man, Jimmy Carter has been trying to show how concerned he is about human rights . . . in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, that is.

Carter promised on the day of his inauguration that he would work toward a world "more responsive to human aspirations." Six days later, on January 26, the State Department issued a statement deplored the violation of "such rights and

INSIDE: FULL TEXT OF CHARTER 77, THE HUMAN RIGHTS PETITION THAT IS SHAKING CZECHOSLOVAKIA. SEE PAGE 20.

freedoms" as were stipulated in the Helsinki declarations of 1975. This was in connection with the arrest in Prague of several signers of Charter 77, a declaration on human rights.

A day later another State Department statement warned the Soviet regime that any action against Andrei D. Sakharov, a leading Soviet dissident, would be in conflict with "accepted international standards of human rights."

When the Kremlin protested, Carter told reporters, "We're not going to back down" on the human rights issue. This was followed up February 7 by a State Department declaration—authorized by Secretary of State Cyrus Vance—expressing "profound concern" over the detention of Soviet human-rights activist Aleksandr Ginzburg.

What a cheap, cynical charade!

If Carter and his underlings really had an ounce of concern about human rights, it would be easy enough to demonstrate. Out of a decent respect for the opinion of the rest of the world, one would expect them to begin in those places where American intervention has been responsible for subverting human rights.



Or has Carter been so busy writing his sermons and teaching Sunday School in Plains, Georgia, that he is not aware of any American transgressions in the area of human rights?

The list of murderous dictatorial regimes that are warmly supported by Washington is a long one. In Latin America the governments in Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, and Uruguay come to mind immediately.

In Asia, the shah of Iran owes his throne to the CIA, while South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee is propped up by 40,000 American troops. The cordial relations between Washington and the authoritarian regimes in the Philippines, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, and Sri Lanka should also be noted.

Violations of human rights are being continually reported in Spain, where large numbers of people have been arrested for their political views, and in South Africa, where hundreds have been shot down in cold blood.

But with all these countries to pick from, Carter chose to focus on the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. He figured he could make a couple of cheap propaganda points in behalf of the "civilizing role" of American imperialism and his own presidential image of moral rectitude.

Most commentators in the American capitalist media have ignored the obvious hypocrisy of Carter's policy. The editors of the *New York Times*, who have generally fawned over the new administration, declared February 1 that "Americans should applaud their Government's concern for the harassment of civil rights forces in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union." They went so far as to call the U.S. statements "a summons . . . to 'socialism with a human face,' as Communists have called it."

In reality, despite the self-serving lies of the capitalist press, *Carter has stabbed the Soviet and Czechoslovak dissidents in the back.*

The spectacle of Carter preaching about human rights while selling arms—and no doubt torture equipment as well—to the shah of Iran and the Pinochet regime in Chile can only hurt the credibility of those dissidents he claims so piously to support. By trying to use the issue of repression in the Stalinist countries for his own narrow political advantage, Carter has given the Kremlin and its supporters new ammunition to use against the dissident movement.

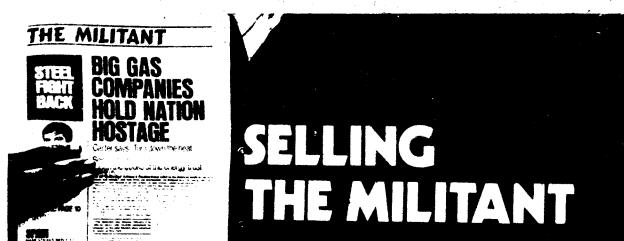
'Militant' outlines plans for sales drive

By José G. Pérez

The *Militant* is on a campaign this winter and spring to sell 10,000 or more papers each week through single-copy sales.

"I think people are gearing up for the drive," says *Militant* business manager Harvey McArthur. "On the first day of the campaign we sold more than 650 copies in New York—more than half the weekly goal for the city."

"I don't have a lot of reports from other areas yet—we're just starting. But bundle orders for that first issue shot up to 11,000—almost double what they had been in previous weeks."



"That's a good omen," McArthur said.

I interviewed McArthur to find out why the *Militant* was conducting a sales drive and how the paper planned to meet the goal.

"The 'why' part is easy," McArthur said. "We want to build a mass socialist movement in this country, and expanding the circulation of the *Militant* is an important part of doing that."

McArthur said the sales drive comes on the heels of a successful campaign for new subscribers. "We signed up 21,000 new readers last fall," he said. "We want to build on that accomplishment."

McArthur explained that major responsibility for making the drive a success has been taken on by branches of the Socialist Workers party and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance. Socialists in each city have their own goals.

He said he expects the SWP and YSA to sell a large number of the single copies in the same places they sold the 21,000 subscriptions last fall: "In working-class communities—especially Black, Chi-

cano, and Puerto Rican communities—and on the campuses."

Socialists are planning to combine selling the paper with canvassing and distributing literature for SWP candidates.

"It's part of making the socialist movement more visible, making it part of the communities where working people live," McArthur said.

"But the most exciting new feature of the drive," he pointed out, "is the expansion of the *Militant's* circulation among workers in basic industry, like steel, auto, and rubber."

"We really started this before launching the sales drive, with our campaign to sell *Militants* at workplaces organized by the United Steelworkers."

Now the goal is to expand and regularize those sales. "Regularity—that's very important. You have to be out there every week at the same place at the same time, and with the same people," McArthur explained.

"So in a sense we have two goals—selling 10,000 copies each week and establishing and regularizing plant-gate sales."

The *Young Socialist*, a monthly sold primarily by the YSA, is also on a single-issue sales drive this spring.

YS business manager Brian Williams says he expects the two campaigns to boost the YSA's sales

You can help

YOU CAN HELP the *Militant* make its goal of selling 10,000 or more a week by ordering a bundle of five or more at twenty-five cents each. Order from: *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

of both the YS and the *Militant*.

"We expect to be selling roughly equal numbers of both papers on campuses," Williams said. "And we'll be helping out on other sales, particularly at plant gates. Because often students have more flexible schedules than people with full-time jobs."

Williams reported that several SWP branches have also taken YS sales goals, especially in cities where there are no YSA chapters.

The *Young Socialist*'s national goal is to sell 6,500 copies each month in February, March, and April.

Below is a listing of *Militant* sales goals by city for every area that has a goal of twenty-five or more. Starting next week, the *Militant* will print a scoreboard reporting sales for the issue published two weeks before the issue in which the scoreboard appears.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Weekly goal	Indianapolis	Raleigh	50	
Albany, N.Y.	75	Kansas City, Mo.	100	Richmond, Ind.	75
Atlanta	400	Los Angeles	650	Salt Lake City	100
Baltimore	175	Louisville	125	St. Louis	300
Berkeley	250	Miami	75	St. Paul	125
Boston	530	Minneapolis	250	San Antonio	250
Chicago	650	Newark	300	San Diego	600
Cincinnati	125	New Orleans	225	San Francisco	200
Cleveland	200	New York	200	San Jose	215
Dallas	100	Oakland, Calif.	1,100	Seattle	200
Denver	200	Philadelphia	225	Tacoma, Wash.	70
Detroit	440	Phoenix	400	Toledo	100
Houston	400	Pittsburgh	100	Washington, D.C., Area	400
		Portland, Ore.	175	Total goal	10,000

February 26 march

Missouri ERA backers plan show of strength

By Diane Roling

ST. LOUIS—Equal Rights Amendment supporters here are preparing for a February 26 march and rally to tell state legislators that Missourians want the measure ratified now. The senate is expected to vote on the women's rights amendment in early March.

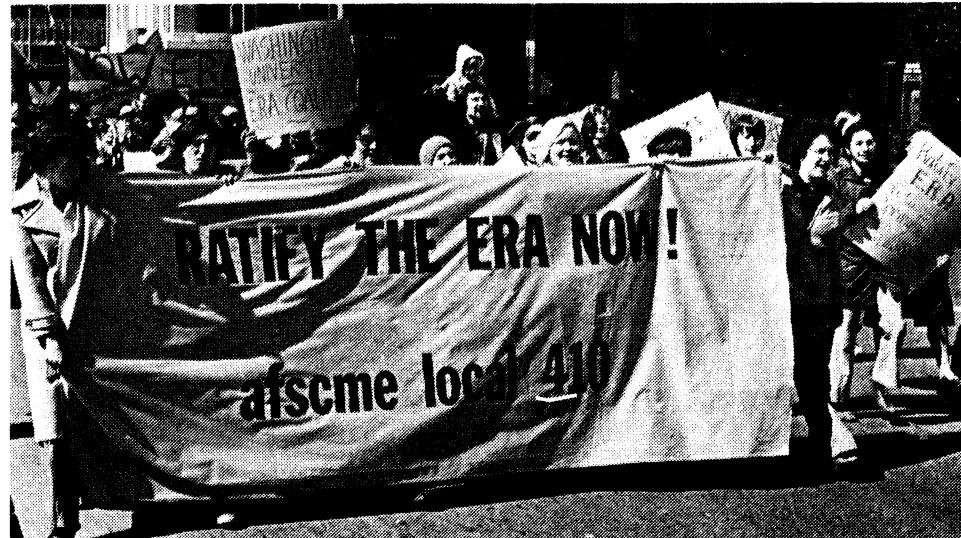
The impending vote has already sparked a flurry of well-publicized activities by opponents of the ERA.

Recently 200 "Pink Ladies" arrived at the capitol building in Jefferson City to pass out pink carnations and implore legislators to "think feminine" and vote no. During committee hearings on the amendment seventeen busloads of Stop ERA crusaders converged on the capital.

Sen. John Schneider and other anti-ERA legislators are trying to railroad the ERA to a quick vote—before women's rights proponents can make a public show of strength.

The enemies of women's rights have been masquerading as the majority. They fear the pressure of pro-ERA activities that could powerfully demonstrate what the polls already show.

A survey in the *Globe Democrat* reported more than 60 percent of Missourians support ratification. Support is even higher among Blacks—more than 90 percent according to an earlier poll.



Militant/Pat Hayes

St. Louis unionists, feminists, and students are organizing to show majority demand ERA now.

The alarming wave of right-wing opposition sparked a strategy discussion at the January meeting of the Metro-St. Louis chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

Mindful of the successful May 16, 1976, demonstration of more than 8,000 in nearby Illinois and the rally last month of 600 in Indianapolis just prior to that state's ratification, NOW women decided to take fast action.

The group organized a meeting to

gain wide sponsorship for a February 26 ERA march and rally. Representatives attended from the Missouri ERA Coalition, St. Louis Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), League of Women Voters, and the Socialist Workers party.

Also represented were the Women's Political Caucus, Metro and North County NOW chapters, and student groups from St. Louis University, Washington University, University of

Missouri at St. Louis, and Florissant Valley Community College.

The Missouri ERA Coalition, CLUW, and League of Women Voters have put their organizations behind this emergency action.

Support is also snowballing among unionists. At a CLUW installation breakfast, Wilda Worly, president of Missouri ERA Coalition, urged unions to turn out their members on February 26.

Unionists have come forward to endorse the march and rally from United Auto Workers Local 110; International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 688; American Federation of Teachers; and Communications Workers of America Local 6300.

Also, unionists from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 410; Meatcutters Local 88; National Education Association; and half a dozen other unions have endorsed.

Students are distributing literature and holding campus debates on the ERA. They are also planning a feminist film showing and a Susan B. Anthony birthday party, February 15.

Demonstrators will gather February 26 at noon by the Gateway Arch and march through downtown St. Louis for a 1:30 p.m. rally at Christ Church Cathedral.

Feminists call for Int'l Women's Day actions

By Gale Shangold

From Pittsburgh to Toledo. From Milwaukee to Phoenix, Arizona. Women are organizing to commemorate International Women's Day (March 8).

In New York City support is growing for a March 12 demonstration. Marchers will demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment; no restrictions on abortion rights; an end to sterilization abuse; full rights and compensation for pregnant workers; full employment; implementation of affirmative-action plans; and restoration of child-care funds.

Among the recent endorsers of the action are New York and Queens National Organization for Women (NOW); American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930; Gloria Steinem; Betty Freidan; and Nicomedes Sánchez of the Puerto Rican Association for Community Affairs.

South Mountain/Essex County NOW in New Jersey is spreading the word about the New York demonstration. Women at Rutgers University in Newark are planning a week of films, panels, and speakers to lead up to March 12. Events begin Monday,

March 7. Myrna Lamb will read *What Have You Done for Me Lately?*—her play about abortion rights.

A new group has formed in Phoenix, Arizona, called Feminists United for Action. Its first project was to picket Supreme Court Justice William Rehnquist when he spoke at Arizona State University, February 7. The group demanded that the Supreme Court reinstate pregnancy disability pay, overturn the Hyde amendment (a proposal to cut off Medicaid-funded abortions), and uphold affirmative action.

The new group is now organizing a March 5 picket line and rally at the state capitol to demand that Arizona ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. Women in Tucson are planning to send a bus of supporters to the event.

Abortion rights and repeal of the Hyde amendment will be the focus for action in Toledo on March 12. The NOW abortion task force is sponsoring a picket line in front of the headquarters of Foundation for Life, an anti-abortion organization. From there demonstrators will march to the Federal Building for a picket line and rally.

A March 8 Toledo NOW educational meeting on the ERA will begin with a

film on the women's suffrage movement, *How We Got the Vote*.

A Tribunal on Crimes Against Women will be held March 5 at the Milwaukee YWCA. Testimony will cover forced sterilization; illegal, unsafe abortions; job discrimination; ineffective affirmative-action programs; and gay oppression. The tribunal was initiated by University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee (UWM) Feminist Center.

On March 9 at UWM the Latin American Center, Feminist Center, and Young Socialist Alliance will sponsor a panel on women of Latin America and Spain. Panelists include 1972 Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Linda Jenness, who recently completed a speaking tour of Spain, and Gwen Loken, who was brutally tortured in Argentine prisons.

In Pittsburgh on March 12 there will be a day-long Women's Unity Festival at the University and City Ministries. A panel on women's rights will feature Mary Ellen Tunney, education director, Women's Health Services; and Althea Fonville of the Black community newspaper Pittsburgh Courier.

Sponsors include Pittsburgh area

NOW chapters, Pittsburgh Committee for the ERA, League of Women Voters, Americans for Democratic Action, New American Movement, and Socialist Workers party.

Maternity leave benefits

"Yes!" Employers should "be required to pay disability benefits to women employees who are pregnant and take time off to have a baby." This is the view of 57 percent of New Yorkers according to a January 10-12 *Daily News* Opinion Poll. Only 36 percent say the Supreme Court was right in giving bosses the OK to deny these benefits.

In Wisconsin, the Commission of Industry, Labor and Human Relations has joined New York State in telling private employers to continue paying maternity compensation—despite the high court's green light on sex discrimination.

Louisiana: abortions denied to many

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—One hundred people, mostly women, took part in Louisiana's first educational conference on abortion here January 29. Entitled A Woman's Right to Choose, the conference was sponsored by the Louisiana American Civil Liberties Union and held at the Tulane University Law School.

Frances Kissling, director of the National Abortion Council, summed up the sentiments of women at the conference. "The right to abortion is not won," warned Kissling. "It took a good fifteen to twenty years to bring about the 1973 Supreme Court decision. It took a building momentum of public support.

"That fifteen to twenty years of work could be undone," she concluded. "It is a battle that requires constant attention."

No public hospital in Louisiana has performed an elective abortion since the 1973 Supreme Court decision. ACLU attorney Jack Stolier described

an ACLU suit against Charity Hospital in New Orleans, the second largest public hospital in the United States. Most of the patients at Charity are Black. Almost all are poor.

Charity does not do any abortions, even for therapeutic reasons, contending that all of its doctors happen to have moral objections to the operation. The ACLU suit demands affirmative action by the state hospital to hire physicians who are willing to perform abortions.

According to conference participants, forced sterilizations during childbirth are frequent occurrences at Charity. In one case, a woman who had been a Charity patient thought she was pregnant. She went to a private doctor who discovered she had no uterus.

Last year, the Louisiana legislature passed Senate Bill 260 declaring a fetus "a human being from the time of fertilization and implantation." It was introduced by the same "right to life"

senator who authored Louisiana's new death penalty law.

Senate Bill 260 would have made it possible to prosecute for murder any woman who obtained an abortion. Although he said he knows the bill violates the U.S. Constitution, Democratic Gov. Edwin Edwards signed it anyway. It was since declared unconstitutional.

Reportedly, no Medicaid abortion has ever been performed in Louisiana. According to Dr. Calvin Jackson, a Black obstetrician who heads a New Orleans women's clinic, all applications for Medicaid from his clinic are capriciously denied by state authorities.

The conference concluded with a workshop discussion on strategy for winning a woman's right to choose. Participants discussed mass demonstrations, lobbying, and other activities. A steering committee was selected to plan a future meeting to launch a broad campaign for abortion rights.

Carter: 'Pay more, heat less'

How energy trust covers up gas reserves

By Dick Roberts

Jimmy Carter is wasting no time in pressing the profit program of the oil trust. On national television February 13, Carter's energy administrator, John O'Leary, declared that the White House will call for higher energy prices and less heating at home.

"Comfort levels are going down" and "the sixty-five-degree home will become a feature of the future," O'Leary said.

Less than a week before, Carter had strongly hinted that he might soon announce the lifting of federal price controls on natural gas. That is the prime demand of the oil companies (which also dominate natural gas production).

The Democratic administration may be moving swiftly for fear that much delay will lead to further exposure of the "gas shortage" fraud.

Under questioning on ABC's "Issues and Answers," O'Leary admitted that "there is no question" the gas companies have been withholding production in the hopes of higher prices.

Utilities income tax rip-off

The energy giants are always poor-mouthing and telling us that they don't have enough money to develop gas and oil resources. If you believe them, think again. Consider, for example, the following item from the January 12, 1977, Wall Street Journal:

Shocking? Utility customers paid \$1.47 billion in 1975 to reimburse electric companies for federal income taxes the utilities never paid, accord-

This should come as a surprise to no one.

The oil companies for years have been holding back natural gas production. And for years energy experts have been calling attention to the trust's profit-gouging schemes.

Congressional committees have investigated the matter and concluded time and again that the oil companies are lying about their reserves.

But Washington has sat on these facts for an equal number of years. Congressional investigations are prolonged and their findings bottled up in obscure committee reports. Legislation is delayed. New committees are set up.

Meanwhile, the oil companies rake in their profits.

Last month people froze to death and two million people were thrown out of work as a result.

'Proved' reserves

A useful review of the facts appeared in the February 12 *New Republic* by James Nathan Miller.

Miller stresses, as we have been

ing to the Environmental Action Foundation. It figures that as a group the electrics collected \$2.2 billion from customers to cover income taxes, but paid only \$727.9 million.

That's because many states let utilities set rates without recognizing the tax benefits of fast depreciation write-offs and investment credits. As a group the electrics paid Uncle Sam only 8.2% of their taxable income in 1975.

saying in the *Militant*, that available figures for natural gas reserves "come from only one source: the gas producers themselves, who draw them up in complete secrecy."

Each year the gas industry's American Gas Association (AGA) "assigns 100 industry geologists to its so-called Committee on Natural Gas Reserves. These geologists annually canvass the producers in their assigned areas for the necessary data to form their own estimates."

In other words, the gas producers' association assigns its own geologists to "investigate" its own reserves. . . .

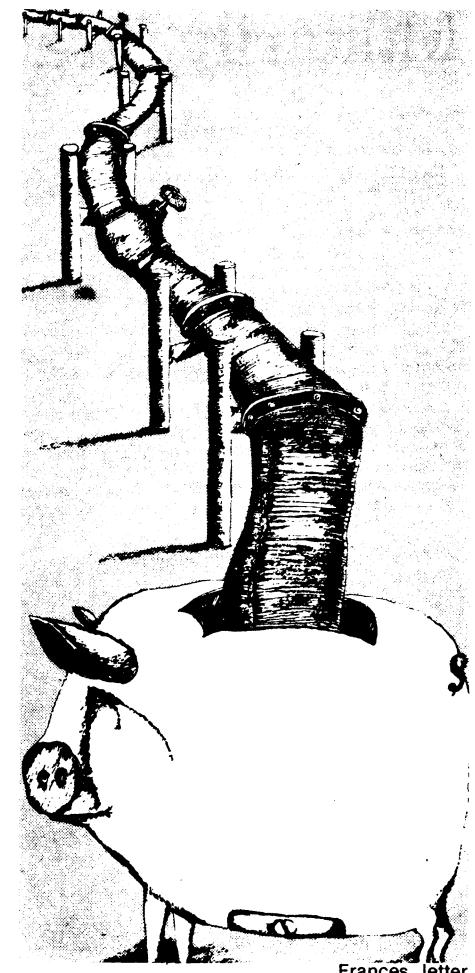
This process has been examined by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). "The FTC's investigators," Miller says, "after a five-year examination of AGA's estimating methods, had recommended taking the association and the companies to court for 'concertedly maintaining a deficient reporting system' that produced 'serious under-reporting.'

"The FTC commissioners rejected this recommendation on what appear to have been political grounds. . . . The FTC investigation, now seven years old, drags on."

In 1976 Rep. John Moss (D-Calif.) also investigated. "What Moss found was that the whole estimating process was dominated by a few of the largest gas producing companies. . . .

"Under oath, the geologists admitted that they ignored AGA's definition of what constituted 'proved' reserves and, in case after case, gave whatever estimates their companies wanted them to give. One admitted that his company drew up all his estimates for him. . . .

"Moss turned up one huge field containing 400 billion cubic feet of gas



Frances Jetter

that had been unlisted for two years, even though it had two platforms and 13 wells and its existence was known to the entire industry.

"If this single field had been included in the AGA's figures, it would have increased the AGA's 1974 national estimate of new-field discoveries by 23 percent."

Continued on page 26

Defends arrest of 3 socialists

Mich. college president pooh poohs free speech

By Chuck Petrin

Central Michigan University President Harold Abel is now circulating what amounts to an official position paper on the case of Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith—three Young Socialist Alliance members arrested there this past October 20.

Written as a letter to Michigan State Rep. Perry Bullard, who has spoken out in defense of the socialists, Abel tries to brush aside charges that CMU is using the case to strike a blow at political and academic freedom.

Abel—who personally ordered the arrests—is not very convincing.

"I am pleased to learn," he writes, "... that you share with me the traditional respect of the academic community for free expression of ideas."

Unfortunately, Abel's interpretation of "free expression" has little in common with the Bill of Rights.

CMU holds title to a legal tangle of rules and regulations aimed at impeding political activity. The Office of Student Affairs wields absolute veto power over campus organizations, having final say on recognition, public events, and allocation of funds and office space.

These rules have been used against Chicano, Black, women's, and gay organizations on campus.

The Young Socialist Alliance chapter at CMU has been recognized since 1969. But its members were informed last year that sales of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers could be done *only* in one location, *only* on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and *only* between the hours of 10:00 a.m. and 2:00 p.m.

The YSA has been denied funds. And since severe restrictions are placed on leafleting and other publicity methods, the YSA's ability to explain its views is hamstrung.

"The university has a long-standing and regularly enforced policy," Abel explains, "which requires permission for the selling of any item or commodity on the campus." But the YSA members "refused" to accept this policy.

"Their position was that their right of political expression transcended the university regulation and made the rule inapplicable to their activity," he writes.

Unfortunately for Abel, the U.S. Supreme Court has taken the YSA's position in similar cases. "No method of communication," the court wrote in 1943, "is entitled to a higher degree of First Amendment protection than the present plaintiffs' method of selling publications by hand in conjunction with personal contact and peaceful discussion, primarily for the purpose of propagating ideas rather than for personal gain."

In a 1970 case involving regulations at the University of Texas at Austin that prohibited commercial sales and solicitations by students without approval of university officials, a federal court not only ruled the regulations invalid, but also that unfair "time," "manner," and "place" restrictions were invalid.

According to President Abel, the charges against the YSA members are based not only on *sales* of literature, but also on the simple act of *distribution* of literature.

"The university," he says, "has rules

regarding the distribution of political literature on the campus. During the recent election campaign other political groups and parties distributed literature in compliance with the rules. [The YSA members] could have done so too had they chosen."

The truth is that the YSA members did absolutely nothing different than Republican or Democratic candidates who passed out materials on campus last fall. But Abel refuses to explain why the socialists were treated so differently.

"We didn't want students getting all stirred up by YSA ideas," Dean of Student Affairs James Hill has been quoted as saying. And so when YSA President Mike Drogot went to Hill's office to seek permission for a literature display, he was turned away.

On the next day the YSA members were arrested.

"The issue," according to Abel, "... is whether or not the university has the authority to make and enforce reasonable rules regarding the use of the campus and buildings. Mr. Smith, Mr. Garrison, and Ms. Douglas chose to test that issue. They sought confrontation, and I attempted to avoid it."

Abel turns things on their head. It was the university, not the YSA, that "sought confrontation" in order to "test" its presumed "authority."

If Abel is successful in convicting socialists for the "crime" of making their views known, it will make it that much easier to crack down on other student groups and to witch-hunt anyone the administration fears will get students "all stirred up."

Committee for Free Speech

More than seventy professors at Central Michigan University, along with leaders of Chicano and Black student organizations there, have formed the Committee for Free Speech to win support for three socialists arrested on campus for distributing literature.

In addition, the Michigan American Civil Liberties Union is supporting the legal defense of the three YSA members.

Noted journalist I.F. Stone recently added his name to the growing list of sponsors of the Committee for Free Speech, which includes Noam Chomsky, John Henrik Clarke, Murray Kempton, and Dwight McDonald.

Other new sponsors include: Rep. David

E. Clarenbach, Wisconsin State Assembly; Steve Kohn, president, Boston University Student Union; Henry Fagen, dean of student life, University of Detroit; Alan Russo, president, American University Student Confederation; Patrick Winburn, student body president, George Washington University; and Karen Olsen, student body president, University of Minnesota.

The committee is urging that protest letters be sent to President Harold Abel, Warriner Hall, Central Michigan University, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48859, with copies to the committee.

For further information contact the Committee for Free Speech, Post Office Box 626, Mt. Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

STEEL VOTE ROUNDUP



ED SADLOWSKI: 'You will see us at the plant gates for the next four years.'

Militant/Lynn Henderson

According to unofficial and incomplete figures released by Lloyd McBride's headquarters, McBride won the election for president of the United Steelworkers of America.

McBride is claiming 324,531 votes to 238,152 for Steelworkers Fight Back candidate Ed Sadlowski—a 58-42 percent majority for the "official family" candidate.

McBride's "victory" rests on heavy margins in Canada and the Southern United States—both areas where Fight Back had few poll watchers and where the vote totals are highly suspect.

McBride claims about 55,000 votes in Canada to 15,000 for Sadlowski. In Québec (District 5) alone, McBride is credited with 20,000 votes to 2,000 for Sadlowski.

Seventy Québec locals reported not one single vote cast for Sadlowski!

In the Deep South Districts 36 and 37, 150 locals reported zero vote for Sadlowski.

Below are preliminary reports from around the country. The Militant will report further voting information as it becomes available.

CHICAGO

By Michael Gillespie

CHICAGO—Sadlowski won District 31, his home district, by a wide majority—34,387 to McBride's 21,799.

McBride's vote total was about the same as that received by Sadlowski's opponent, Sam Evett,

in the district director elections in 1973 and 1974. It appears to represent the hard-core vote for the "official family."

Sadlowski's total was down from the approximately 40,000 votes he received in 1974.

As expected Fight Back did well in most of the large locals. In his home local at U.S. Steel South Works, Local 65, Sadlowski won 2,095 to 694.

At Inland Steel, Local 1010, the largest local in the international, it was Sadlowski 5,769, McBride 2,850.

However, in some of the large locals Sadlowski's margin was smaller than anticipated. At Youngstown Sheet and Tube it was Sadlowski 2,121, McBride 1,734. At Burns Harbor, Local 6787, Sadlowski won 1,519 to 1,256.

In the race to succeed Sadlowski as district director, Fight Back candidate Jim Balanoff easily won, defeating his closest opponent, Harry Piasecki, 19,108 to 13,442.

PITTSBURGH

By Sue Em Davenport

PITTSBURGH—Sadlowski and McBride ran nearly even in all three western Pennsylvania districts.

The overall turnout was lower than expected, with many plants partly shut down and thousands of workers laid off. There was a relatively high turnout of older workers.

Sadlowski carried District 19 with 8,656 votes to McBride's 7,368. The insurgent scored a two-to-one victory in the district's largest

local, Local 1196 at Allegheny Ludlum.

Sadlowski won District 20 by 14,279 to 13,193. He narrowly won Local 1211 at Jones & Laughlin in Aliquippa, the biggest in the district, and lost Crucible Steel, the second largest.

Walter Bachowski led a field of five candidates to become District 20 director. Bachowski is seen as an antimachine candidate and toward the end of his campaign put out leaflets identifying with Sadlowski.

McBride narrowly won District 15 with 13,169 votes to Sadlowski's 12,912. He edged Sadlowski out by 1,147 to 999 at Clairton Coke Works, while Sadlowski won by a few hundred votes at the big U.S. Steel Homestead Works.

One of the outstanding Fight Back efforts was among smaller locals in the Coraopolis-Neville Island-McKees Rocks area.

A special Fight Back leaflet about the problems of small shops was drawn up and signed by thirty-six activists there, including eight local presidents and many grievancemen, committeemen, and other local officers.

The leaflet cited Sadlowski's pledge to fight for common expiration dates, common rates of pay, and common benefits in each area and ultimately to win nationwide bargaining for the small shops.

Nearly all the locals in this area went for Sadlowski by big margins.

CLEVELAND

By Shirley Pasholk

CLEVELAND—Steelworkers Fight Back won a clear majority in the Cleveland-area District 28. Six of the seven basic steel locals supported Sadlowski, some by margins of up to two-to-one.

With 104 out of 121 locals reporting Sadlowski had 6,257 votes to McBride's 5,664.

This victory was accomplished despite a last-minute effort by McBride supporters to flood the mills with red-baiting, anti-Sadlowski literature.

Sadlowski observers met difficulty in learning voting times and places in many small locals—information the union is legally obligated to provide.

In some cases, this information was not provided at all. In others, the time and place were changed at the last minute.

In one local only fifteen minutes were allowed for more than 400 members to vote. The Fight Back office was called at 1:26 p.m. and informed that the voting time had been changed to 2:00 p.m. They were told if the Fight Back observer wasn't there, that was too bad.

Despite these obstacles Fight Back supporters were able to observe much of the voting in District 28.

At the regular local meeting after the election, members of USWA Local 1157 at Republic Steel showed the impact of the issues raised by the Fight Back campaign by going on record against the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

SAN FRANCISCO

By Robert West

SAN FRANCISCO—With 90 percent of the vote counted, Sadlowski polled roughly 11,500 to McBride's 13,000 in District 38, covering nine Western states.

However, Nash Rodriguez, Fight Back candidate for secretary, carried the district.

The latest returns showed the district director race too close to call, with Fight Back supporter Roy Santa Cruz trailing McBride-backed Bob Petris by only about 100 votes. Then vote returns for the district director race suddenly stopped coming in. Fight Back supporters suspect ballot box stuffing and plans by McBride to challenge votes in the locals with big majorities for Santa Cruz.

The Chicano vote, which is significant in District 38, seems to have been solid for Rodriguez and Santa Cruz with a heavy Chicano vote for Sadlowski.

In northern California Sadlowski won U.S. Steel's Pittsburg plant, Local 1440, by about 800 to 500.

Local 1440 has a large and well-organized Fight Back movement. Their sentiment is reported to be strongly in favor of continuing Steelworkers Fight Back regardless of the final election results.

The Pittsburg plant is the largest basic steel plant in California, but elsewhere in the state Sadlowski's biggest margins came in the small locals. The insurgent slate won a majority of the can plants.

MINNEAPOLIS

By Jim Carson

MINNEAPOLIS—Unofficial totals in District 33 (Minnesota and the North Central states), with a majority of the large locals reporting, show Sadlowski leading McBride 5,401 to 1,877.

Fight Back supporter Linus Wampler upset the McBride-supported incumbent, Peter Benzon, in the race for District 33 director.

Benzoni has been a leading force within the USWA and the state AFL-CIO in support of Reserve Mining, the company that has resisted efforts by environmentalists to end the pollution of Lake Superior. McBride carried the Reserve Mining local 490 to 74.

Sadlowski was quoted in the *Minneapolis Star* on February 6, when he spoke in Hibbing, as saying top steel union officials have been "in bed" with Reserve Mining over the taconite disposal controversy.

The article stated that Sadlowski believes the dispute could be resolved "if the company took some of the profits it has 'been bleeding out of the people's souls and the community's soul' and used it to correct the pollution problem."

In an interview with the *Militant*, Wampler stated that there is widespread discontent within District 33, and that the union had been "going easy on management."

Workers on the Minnesota Iron Range lag eighty cents per hour behind steelworkers nationwide. At the Minntac plant in Mountain Iron, scene of a 1975 wildcat strike, Sadlowski defeated McBride 1,675 to 233.

Wampler also said that win or lose the Sadlowski forces will continue organizing within the union at conferences, conventions,

and local union meetings to press for democracy within the union and for a membership vote on the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

DETROIT

By Paula Reimers

DETROIT—District 29, centered around Detroit, was an area in which the Fight Back forces were especially well organized.

Sadlowski polled 9,476 votes to McBride's 6,348. Sadlowski won in all the biggest locals.

The three biggest are: Great Lakes Steel, Local 1299, Sadlowski 2,776, McBride, 1,199; Dow Chemical at Midland, Local 12075, Sadlowski 879, McBride 344; and McLoth Steel, Local 2659, Sadlowski 847, McBride 629.

McBride's strength was in the small outlying locals that are basically run by the staff "reps." Eleven of these locals credited Sadlowski with zero vote. Fight Back considers those totals suspicious and is investigating for possible vote fraud.

BALTIMORE

By Morrie Dietrich

BALTIMORE—Steelworkers for Sadlowski were in a festive mood the night of the election. The fifty or so observers and supporters from the Baltimore area had reason to be cheerful. Early returns from District 8 were going for Sadlowski by a three-to-two margin.

This did not include figures from Locals 2609 and 2610, representing Bethlehem Steel's enormous Sparrows Point complex. Returns the next day showed these locals going two-to-one for Sadlowski.

The only disappointing note was that while Sadlowski won in these locals, the total number of members voting was unexpectedly small. About one-third of the eligible members voted at Sparrows Point.

In Frederick, Maryland, some seventy miles west of Baltimore, Sadlowski campaigners had been attacked and beaten prior to election day. This local went overwhelmingly for Sadlowski despite these goon tactics.

More than fifty locals throughout District 8 were not observed by Sadlowski supporters. Vote totals from many of these locals were very suspicious—going for McBride with margins like thirty-eight to zero and eighteen-to-one.

Fight Back supporters suspect vote tampering in as many as thirty of these locals.

NEWARK

NEWARK—In District 9, which includes northern New Jersey and the Lehigh Valley area of Pennsylvania, Sadlowski was leading 9,237 to 5,897 with 75 percent of the locals reporting.

There is also a contest for district director, which was still too close to call at press time, between "official family" candidate Paul McHale and Frank Lunney, supported by Fight Back.

Bill Gfroehrer, who organized many Fight Back poll observers in northern New Jersey, reported numerous incidents of harassment and voting irregularities.

When he contacted the recording secretary in Local 4094 to arrange an observer, Gfroehrer was told the local president had canceled the election because the "members didn't show any interest" and "the work force was Spanish-speaking."

At the Revlon Corporation in Irvington, New Jersey, Local 3297 had not received materials from the international and had made no arrangements to hold the election.

When a Sadlowski observer was sent to Local 12243 at the Alcan Corporation, the local union official referred him to the personnel office. The director of personnel told him, "We don't need an observer here." Only by insisting that the election was none of management's business was he able to remain.

Gfroehrer reported that wherever Fight Back had observers, Sadlowski either won or came very close.

District director races

Erosion of the Abel-McBride machine's grip was shown by the number of district director races in which "official family" candidates were defeated.

• In District 31 (Chicago-Gary), Steelworkers Fight Back leader Jim Balanoff won the race for the seat vacated by Ed Sadlowski.

• In District 33 (North Central states), Sadlowski supporter Linus Wampler ousted McBride-backed incumbent Peter Benzon.

• In District 20 (Pittsburgh), Walter Bachowski, who has a

reputation as an antimachine fighter, beat four other candidates.

The outcome of two other races is still uncertain. Fight Back supporter Roy Santa Cruz may be close to victory in District 38 in the Western states.

The race in District 9 (Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and northern New Jersey) between dissident Frank Lunney and machine-backed Paul McHale is extremely close and certain to be contested.

Big gains for Steel Fight Back

By Andy Rose

"You will see us at the plant gates for the next four years," Ed Sadlowski vows.

Administration-backed candidate Lloyd McBride is claiming a 58-42 percent majority over Sadlowski in the February 8 election for president of the United Steelworkers of America. But backers of insurgent Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate believe the real victory is theirs.

First, they do not concede that a majority of votes were cast for McBride. Evidence is being assembled of vote fraud and widespread illegal campaign practices by McBride's army of union-paid staff and officers.

"We are investigating whether we have enough evidence to mount a successful challenge," says George Bogdanich of the Steelworkers Fight Back staff.

There is another victory that is even more important. Steelworkers Fight Back has inspired and mobilized thousands of union members across the United States and Canada. Through this election campaign they began a fight to wrest control of the union away from the parasitic bureaucracy, headed by I.W. Abel and now by McBride, and return decision-making power to the union ranks.

That fight, far from ending February 8, has just begun. Many Fight Back activists are determined that an ongoing movement for union democracy should be built, and confident that it can be. They see the accomplishments of the election campaign—the ideas raised, the response, the organization begun—as the basis for this movement.

It is too early to draw firm conclusions from the reported vote patterns in the election. The bureaucrats are accustomed to stuffing ballot boxes and the handful of "observers" sent out by the federal Labor Department were certainly no obstacle.

Even from the incomplete and questionable returns available, though, several observations can be made. The voting did not follow the preelection pundits' "common wisdom" that Sadlowski would overwhelmingly carry basic steel (about 30 percent of the USWA membership) while McBride would offset that in the fabricating plants and other smaller shops.

In fact, the Abel-McBride machine was able to pull out enough votes in basic steel to reduce Sadlowski's margin of victory there. And—in all areas where consistent Fight Back campaigning was organized—Sadlowski showed great strength in the small locals.

Sadlowski's appeal in the smaller shops should come as no surprise. Workers in these plants get far lower pay and worse union representation than workers in basic steel. Their heavy votes for machine candidates in past elections reflected the greater ease with which union staffers can coerce, intimidate, and simply steal votes in smaller locals.

The vote turnout in basic steel was lighter than many had expected. Although Sadlowski won in most of the basic steel centers, it was by smaller margins than predicted.

It is hard to weigh the effect of the cold wave and heavy layoffs in reducing the turnout. Certainly those laid off—the younger workers—were the most likely to be Sadlowski supporters.

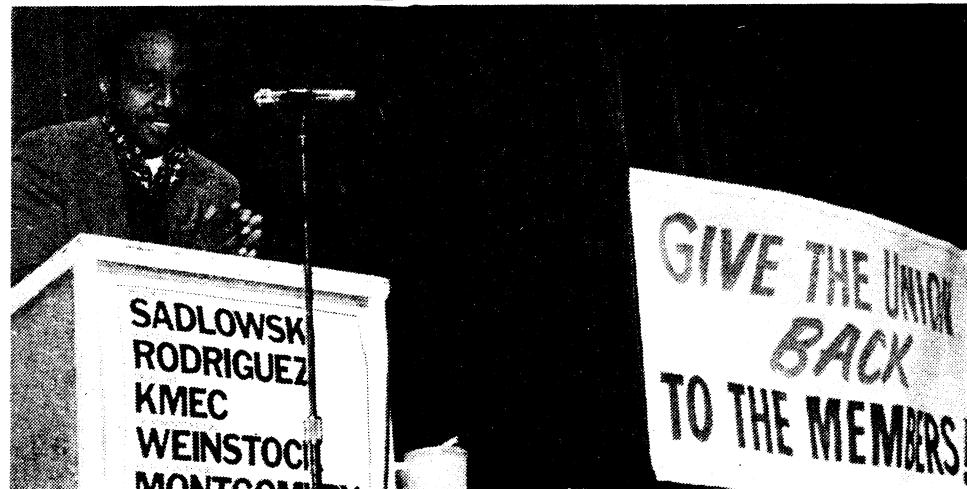
The Abel-McBride machine turned its full resources—backed by pressure from the employers and scare stories in the news media—into a last-ditch drive to defeat Sadlowski. Their campaign relied heavily on appeals to backward ideas among older, white, relatively privileged workers.

The themes were crude: "Sadlowski's a communist. . . . Sadlowski will take the union out on strike. . . . Sadlowski supports the ecology freaks who want to put us out of business. . . . Sadlowski's getting money from Japanese steel companies. . . ."

The propaganda barrage from Abel and McBride underlined their reactionary alliance with the steel industry bosses on "protecting jobs" through the no-strike deal, productivity committees, chauvinist campaigns against imports, and opposition to strong pollution controls.

This alliance has not stopped the industry from eliminating thousands of jobs. But among some high-seniority workers—the highest-paid and most secure from layoff—the charge that Sadlowski would upset a comfortable status quo could well have swung votes against him.

These workers are a small minority of the union. But they provide the



Militant/Marty Pettit

Oliver Montgomery, Steelworkers Fight Back vice-presidential candidate, speaks at preelection rally in Detroit, where Sadlowski slate won 60 percent of the vote.

social base for the bureaucracy, and the machine is experienced at turning them out when needed.

There can be no doubt that the big majority sentiment in the union ranks was for Sadlowski. Among workers most alienated by the policies of the bureaucracy—Blacks, Latinos, women, young workers—Fight Back had to overcome considerable skepticism that the union could be changed or that it was worth trying.

To turn their dissatisfaction into action required patient, persistent educational work, and a campaign that provided answers to their needs.

The most outstanding vote pattern of the election, in fact, was the trend of Sadlowski victories:

Wherever the campaign was well organized to reach steelworkers systematically with literature, to counter the Abel-McBride lies by getting Sadlowski's real program into the hands of the ranks, the Fight Back slate won.

It won both in basic steel and among smaller shops. Workers identified with the Fight Back program, became active in the campaign, and voted for the slate.

A prime example is District 29, which covers lower Michigan and a small part of Ohio. Sadlowski carried the district with a solid 60 percent majority.

In Michigan, as in most districts, there was absolutely no Steelworkers Fight Back organization before the campaign started last September.

After Fight Back made initial con-

tacts, though, the campaign mushroomed. An efficient office was set up where steelworkers could meet, organize campaigning, and dispatch teams. Rallies of up to 500 were organized whenever the Fight Back candidates were in town. Media coverage, fund raising, and leafleting all got careful attention.

According to Robin Maisel, a Fight Back coordinator in District 29, about 80,000 pieces of literature were handed out, more than half of them printed locally. Spanish-language leaflets were printed to reach the many Chicano steelworkers.

Poll watchers were signed up and given advance training.

"All the places we had people out doing regular leafleting we won big," Maisel says. "Places we didn't hit hard enough—only once perhaps, or not at all—we won narrowly or lost."

Michigan activists are keeping their office open and have no intention of ending Fight Back. "Abel and McBride are in big trouble here," Maisel says. "People feel combative. We carried this district. We're proud of the fight we put up. We're well on our way to winning over the whole district."

According to Maisel, there will be candidates running on the Fight Back program in some local union elections that are coming up because local officials have been given staff jobs.

Right now, he says, in addition to getting in the final vote count and checking a few cases of possible fraud, "we're planning a victory party."

A dangerous hoax

Behind Abel's 'lifetime job security' plan

By Andy Rose

"Steel Union Seeks 'Lifetime Security,'" the headlines said as the United Steelworkers and the basic steel industry opened negotiations February 14.

It was Valentine's Day.

It was appropriate.

Top union bureaucrats settled down for what they expect will be amicable talks behind closed doors with the top executives of the steel corporations.

A "breakthrough" toward "lifetime job security" is billed as the top priority of union negotiators. Outgoing President I.W. Abel calls his plan "a job for life with a decent, respectable income for life." It is no such thing.

Abel's plan is a dangerous hoax. It will exacerbate divisions within the union—granting privileges to high-seniority workers at the expense of younger ones.

It is tailored to meet industry demands for a stable work force and tighter control on the shop floor.

In a background article February 11, the *Wall Street Journal* explains what company and union officials are after. Both, the *Journal* reports, consider "lifetime security" to be "an extension of the attitude of labor-management interdependence that led four years ago to the industry's Experimental Negotiating Agreement." That is

Abel's infamous no-strike deal.

"Lifetime security" doesn't mean lifetime security at all. It may mean a certain minimum number of hours per year—for one section of the union.

The industry "will almost certainly insist that the plan be limited to a company's more senior workers," says the *Wall Street Journal*.

No complaint from the bureaucrats. A USWA official is quoted: "You're not

going to give a guy hired yesterday a lifetime job guarantee."

Cost of the program will come—not out of industry profits—but from "a reduction in supplemental unemployment benefit levels for younger union members with fewer years of service."

Abel thinks the companies will like it. He says the current benefit setup is "costing them without benefits in return," while his proposal "makes it

possible for companies to do better planning."

In return for all this, the companies want "greater control over work assignments and scheduling," the *Journal* says. As for other union demands—the *Journal* cites wages and pensions—they will get "less attention." An industry official is quoted: "If there's one area where there's zilch likely to be done, it's pensions."

Thus the net effect of Abel's plan would be less protection of jobs and wages for most workers, highly questionable privileges for others.

Jobs for all could be provided by a shorter workweek at no cut in pay—an official demand approved by last year's USWA convention. It and a raft of other demands, the *Journal* reported February 14, "are almost certain to be dropped from serious bargaining discussion."

There is one problem for the Valentine's Day negotiators. Abel's scheme "may be a hard item to sell to young steelworkers, especially those aroused by the insurgent campaign of Mr. McBride's opponent, Edward Sadlowski."

If steelworkers find out what Abel and the companies are up to, that may be the understatement of the year.



INSIDE JOKE WITH TOP 'OUTSIDER'? Lloyd McBride, left, and I.W. Abel, right, laugh it up with U.S. Steel Vice-president J. Bruce Johnston at basic steel talks.

Over protests of Texas governor

Raza Unida-initiated farm wins federal funding

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—On February 3 a U.S. government check for \$67,000 arrived at the office of the Zavala County, Texas, Economic Development Corporation. Receipt of the check represented a significant defeat for Gov. Dolph Briscoe, the ultrareactionary Democratic governor of Texas.

Initiated by the independent Chicano Raza Unida party, the Zavala County Economic Development Corporation was established to organize a community-owned farm. Last fall Briscoe unleashed a savage smear campaign against the project. He initiated legal moves that succeeded in freezing previously authorized federal funding for several months.

The farm, when in full operation, will provide work for more than 200 low-income people in the area, relieving them of the need to follow the crops around the country.

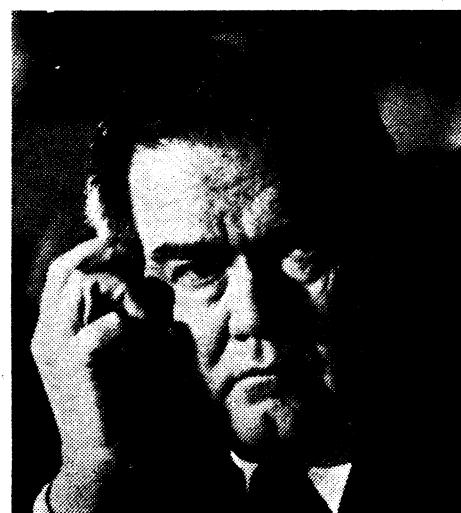
After the initial federal grant was made to finance necessary preparatory work, Briscoe unleashed his attack. Taking aim at the Raza Unida party, he declared the farm project "a little Cuba on Texas soil."

The project was, he said, both "un-Texan" and "un-American."

A federal judge ordered a freeze on funding to give state officials an opportunity to review the project, which they had not previously done.

A review was made and an unfavorable recommendation forwarded to Washington.

But a month later, without any public comment, the federal agency involved simply sent the \$67,000 check to Zavala County. The check covers operating expenses for the project for



DEMOCRATIC GOV. BRISCOE: Finds plot to create 'a little Cuba on Texas soil.'



RAZA UNIDA JUDGE GUTIERREZ: Victory was won by 'all the people across country who stood in solidarity with us.'

December, January, and the first half of February.

The efforts of Texas officials to kill the project were particularly ominous in that they came as part of a mounting drive by a whole variety of state and federal officials to wipe out the Raza Unida party.

By the same token, failure to kill the farm project is a setback for this anti-RUP drive.

Based in Crystal City, the RUP now controls the Zavala County administration. José Angel Gutiérrez, founding leader of the Crystal City party, was elected judge, the principal county executive. He is also president of the economic development corporation that is organizing the community farm.

As part of its effort to destroy the

project, the Texas administration also revoked the state charter of the development corporation. An appeal against this arbitrary action is pending.

In a telephone interview, Judge Gutiérrez said that with receipt of the federal check the project wheels would begin turning again.

One setback was suffered as a result of freezing the funds, he said.

Negotiations had been in process with a local farmer to purchase his holdings of 1,500 acres. The deal was in progress even though the farmer was under pressure from other growers not to sell.

However, Gutiérrez said, during the period the money was frozen, the Florida crops froze too. That, coupled with a drought in central California, has boosted the price of Texas farm

products. So the farmer decided he could make more by working the land.

The community has, however, a second purchase alternative that they will now turn to. Assuming no further hitch, they hope to have the sale completed in time for spring planting. That would mean, Gutiérrez estimated, that by late summer about a hundred people would be working on the first harvest. And if things go well, another hundred will be working in a projected warehouse and packaging operation.

The development plan calls for the workers involved to have a starting income of \$2.50 an hour. This is significantly higher than the prevailing wage in the area and one of the reasons why Briscoe, a major South Texas landowner, is so strongly opposed to the project.

Gutiérrez told the *Militant* that the people in Zavala County are extremely appreciative of "all the people across the country who stood in solidarity with us."

Support, he said, ranged from community groups to elected officials.

"They saw the gross injustice and red-baiting by the governor," he said, "and the opportunity being denied Chicanos. Surprisingly enough even the Dallas *Times-Herald* editorialized against the governor.

Such support, Gutiérrez said, "shows that when you get in trouble you still have to look to the community folk, to the people who are going to be with you all the time."

"And that's exactly what we did. Rather than trying to pull strings in Washington—which we don't have to begin with—we took the only viable alternative, to get grass roots support. And it worked. It always does."

Manzo 4 gain support in fight against 'la migra'

San Diego

By Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO—The Manzo Defense Committee has announced new support for four Arizona women fighting federal charges for counseling undocumented Mexican workers. The announcement was made at a news conference held here February 8.

The four counselors—Margo Cowan, Ann Gabriel, Cathy Montaño, and Margie Ramírez—are known as the Manzo defendants, after the name of the Tucson social service center where they work.

They face felony charges of "transporting," "aiding and abetting," and "conspiracy" to help "illegal aliens." If convicted, they could be sentenced to a total of 166 years in prison and fined \$200,000.

At the news conference, activists in

the Manzo defense released a letter of support from California Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally. "The issue is one of fairness," Dymally said. ". . . I have decided to support the Manzo Area Council in its fight to dismiss the Federal indictments."

A statement from San Diego City Council member Jess Haro noted, "The outcome of the trial of the four Manzo workers will have a definite impact on local agencies providing similar services. . . .

"The Mexican-American Community should be informed of the legal implications of this trial and support the efforts of the Manzo Support Committee."

Margo Cowan, director of the Manzo center, was the main speaker at the news conference. Cowan faces seventy-seven years in prison and \$98,500 in fines.

"This case raises the question of whether or not a social service agency can counsel undocumented people," Cowan said.

"If the indictments against us are successful, it would shut down centers like ours all over the Southwest."

"This case also raises the question of the rights of privacy of people seeking immigration counseling," Cowan added. "If our files can be stolen by federal agencies, used to deport people, and then used as evidence against us, any agency's files can be used in the same manner."

Cowan also reported that the federal attorney offered to drop all charges against the defendants if they would turn over the names of other people they counseled.

"This was obviously not acceptable to us," Cowan said. But, "It indicates that the federal attorney is not confident of his case."

Also speaking at the news conference was Gary Brown, a former United

Farm Workers organizer who is organizing the Manzo Defense Committee in San Diego.

Brown read statements of support from Herman Baca, chairperson of National City's Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights; the Padre Hidalgo Catholic Community Services Center; and the Chicano Federation of San Diego.

Peter Schey, a local attorney, and Pam Peterson, a public agency employee, also spoke.

"No U.S. attorney has ever tried to do this before," Schey said. "This is the most important immigration case in recent years, because of the precedent it will set."

San Antonio

By Marta Richmond

SAN ANTONIO—The San Antonio Militant Forum recently sponsored a panel on the defense of the Manzo Four. The featured speaker was Margo Cowan, director of the Manzo Area Council in Tucson, Arizona.

Cowan and three other social workers—Cathy Montaño, Margie Ramírez, and Sister Ann Gabriel—are all under indictment for "aiding and abetting, and transporting illegal aliens," a felony.

The Manzo Area Council, which first opened its doors in 1975, is a community organization that helps migratory workers.

On April 9, 1976, the U.S. Border Patrol raided the Manzo offices and confiscated 800 confidential clients' files. Immigration authorities then used the names in the files to raid the homes of clients in the middle of the night, arresting husbands or wives and taking children away from their parents.

Following the raids, *la migra* arrest

ed the four council social workers.

Margo Cowan told the *Militant* Forum that the raids had harmed the council by creating a "chilling effect" on the 1,500 people Manzo serves. Fear of exposure and deportation was "keeping people away who desperately needed assistance," Cowan said.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has offered the defendants a deal if they will turn in the names of persons visiting the center. The social workers have refused to make the center "Checkpoint Manzo."

As a response to the arrests and harassment, the four Manzo defendants and clients at the center have filed an \$8 million class-action lawsuit. Named in the legal action are the INS, U.S. Attorney Mike Hawkins, and others.

Cowan stressed the need for a nationwide defense effort to defeat the government's trumped-up charges.

Also speaking at the forum was Raúl Tamez of the San Antonio College Student Coalition Against Racism. Tamez told the meeting that "this harassment is an attack by the U.S. government to make the undocumented worker a scapegoat for unemployment and other ills of society."

Sister Georgia, a representative of Las Hermanas, an organization of nuns in San Antonio, suggested a campaign to bring the attack on the Manzo Council and other violations of Chicano rights before the United Nations.

Sister Maria Barron, another member of Las Hermanas and a representative of the Mexican-American Cultural Center, described the massive INS roundups of Chicano and Mexican workers she had witnessed in the Los Angeles garment industry.

After the forum, Margo Cowan spoke to a large fund-raising party sponsored by the Social Work Alliance of Texas.



MARGO COWAN: 'If indictments against us are successful, it would shut down centers all over Southwest.'

Plans set for March antiapartheid protests

By John Hawkins

The list of cities where antiapartheid activists are making plans for March 25-26 protests against U.S. complicity in southern Africa is continuing to grow.

In San Diego the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) has been touring area campuses showing the film *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. Audiences for the film have averaged more than fifty.

After each film showing dozens of people have signed up to help build antiapartheid protests. Activists at two campuses decided to form SCAR chapters.

Two teach-ins are planned for March 22 in San Diego. Featured speaker at both will be Tsieti Mashinini, exiled leader of the student demonstrations last June 16 in Soweto, South Africa.

At San Diego City College the teach-in is being organized by the campus SCAR chapter and Black Student Union. At San Diego State College teach-in sponsors include the Cultural Arts Board, Arts and Letters Colloquium Lecture Series, Political Science Honor Society, and Afro-American studies department.

Among endorsers of the teach-ins are Maulana Ron Karenga of the Afro-American studies department, San Diego State College; Bob Russell, Mesa College Black studies department; Dr. Tony Ngubo, sociology professor at University of California San Diego; and UCSD history professor Dr. Edward Reynolds.

Opponents of white minority rule in southern Africa met February 8 in Portland, Oregon, to form the Portland March 25 Antiapartheid Planning Committee. The meeting set a March 25 march through downtown Portland to the federal building to protest U.S. complicity.

Committee supporters plan to circulate petitions demanding an end to U.S. trade and complicity with the regimes in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. The petitions will be delivered to the offices of U.S. representatives at the federal building on March 25.

At the meeting to form the committee were representatives of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Multnomah County Democratic party Central Committee; NAACP; Metropolitan Human Rights



Militant/Barry Chann

Commission; Reed College Students Against Racism; Portland State SCAR; Young Socialist Alliance; and Socialist Workers party.

At a meeting in St. Louis February 9, participants formed the March 26 Out-of-South-Africa-Now Day Committee. The committee is planning a march and rally against apartheid for that day.

Leading up to the demonstration, two teach-ins are planned—one at Forest Park Community College, the other at Washington University. Featured speaker at both will be Khotso Seatholo, like Mashinini a leader of

the Soweto student rebellion.

The coalition, initiated by the St. Louis SCAR, has received broad sponsorship. Endorsers include Missouri State Sen. Franklin Payne; Rev. Buck Jones, Operation Live; William Harrison, Missouri Black Leadership Association; Betty Lee, editor, *Proud* magazine; Betty Thompson, Black Women of Unity; Mary Pritchard, SWP candidate for comptroller; and Ernest Calloway, St. Louis community leader.

Materials for building the March 25-26 days of protest are available from NSCAR, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121.

Carter & Artis get life again

Racist decision by judge in bout for freedom

By Willie Mae Reid

Like the arm on a record player, the New Jersey court system finished its circular pattern around justice and came back to the same spot.

On February 9 Judge Bruno Leopizzi resentenced former professional boxer Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis to the same life sentences they got in their first frame-up trial ten years ago.

In a December retrial, the two victims were found guilty of killing three white patrons on June 17, 1966, in the Lafayette Grill in Paterson, New Jersey.

Carter received the same double life sentence—two consecutive life terms and one concurrent life term. Artis got hit with the same life sentence too—three concurrent life terms.

The evidence against the two was just as flimsy and fabricated in the second trial as it had been in the first. Witnesses in the bar described the killers as two Black men completely different from Carter and Artis in height, skin color, and dress.

But Carter and Artis were convicted

anyway. The two key prosecution witnesses at the first trial were Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley, who were burglarizing a nearby factory when the shooting occurred. Bello and Bradley testified that Carter and Artis were the killers.

Seven years later Bello and Bradley recanted their testimony. Interest in the case and public support for Carter and Artis grew. Protest demonstrations and rallies were organized. After serving nine years on life terms, Carter and Artis were finally granted a new trial last year.

In a *Boston Globe* interview, Vincent DeSimone, the cop in charge of the first investigation, said that if Carter and Artis won the new trial, "We've still got a few rabbits up our sleeves."

At the new trial Bello reversed his recantation. Bradley—who stuck to the recantation—was not called to testify. In addition, prosecutors introduced a motive, which was completely missing in the first trial.

Judge Leopizzi allowed prosecutors to introduce "racial revenge" as the motive for the 1966 killings. He gave

Assistant Prosecutor Ronald Marmo and Prosecutor Burrell Humphreys "wide latitude" as they bullied defense witnesses during cross-examination.

In statements released before sentencing both Carter and Artis pointed to the racism shown by their convictions. Carter reminded the judge that the only proven fact in the case was that "two Black people did the crime." On that basis, he and Artis were being railroaded to prison for life.

Artis compared the case to the Scottsboro Boys—nine young Blacks who in the 1930s were convicted and reconvicted of rape in Alabama courts on false testimony and no evidence. Clarence Norris, the only known survivor of the nine, finally won a pardon last November—more than forty-five years later.

Jeffrey Fogel, an attorney for Carter and Artis, discussed the case with the *Militant*. He said an appeal will be filed.

"Chances are difficult," Fogel said, "but the legal issues are strong." He added that Carter and Artis will "need the same broad support that won the



JOHN ARTIS (left) & RUBIN CARTER

new trial."

Carter and Artis have been knocked down, but not out. More demonstrations, rallies, and picket lines in their defense can win them the justice that is long overdue.

Ten Black marines on trial at Camp Pendleton

By Mark Friedman

OCEANSIDE, Calif.—The Marine Corps is trying to railroad ten Black recruits to prison to cover up its policy of condoning racist attacks, according to attorney Peter Schey.

Schey is one of a team of attorneys defending the group of Black marines who face up to twenty-one years in prison each if convicted on conspiracy and assault charges.

The charges stem from an incident at Oceanside's Camp Pendleton, one of the largest Marine bases in the country. The base has 50,000 troops, 9,000 of whom are Black.

Last November 13, a group of Black marines charged into a barracks room where seven whites were drinking beer. Six whites were injured.

The Black marines apparently thought they were breaking up a Ku Klux Klan meeting that was planning further racist attacks on base. Howev-

er, a leader of the Klan later said their meeting was next door.

Marine Corps authorities searched the adjoining room several hours after the incident and found Klan literature, a list of Klan members, and a secret cache of unauthorized weapons.

The corps charged fourteen Blacks for the November 13 incident. One later received complete immunity in exchange for testimony against the other defendants.

Compromise guilty pleas have resulted in jail terms of up to three months and reductions in rank for two others. Charges against a fourth marine were dismissed.

"Racial incidents were ignored," Schey told the *Militant*. "And the total inaction of the corps officers led to a climate in which the lives and well-being of Black persons were under constant threat."

During pretrial hearings, Klan leaders boasted of having "secret members

running into the hundreds" at Camp Pendleton.

Testimony showed that there had been intimidation, harassment, and assaults on Blacks by KKK members. But when incidents were reported to officers, they refused to do anything.

The hearings proved that the Marine Corps had systematically covered up for the Klan on base. As late as two weeks after discovery of the arms cache, Marine Corps mouthpieces insisted, "We're not aware of any active organization of the Ku Klux Klan."

Schey pointed to "press releases issued by the [Marine] command detrimental to the detained men, detrimental statements by the command officers made to civilian counsel [for the ten Blacks], the arrest of one civilian counsel without cause on the base, and the continued detention of defendants without consideration of the facts in any individual case."

Several coalitions are working to defend the Black marines. Operation PUSH, the Urban League, the NAACP, and the Nia Cultural Organization have established a legal defense fund.

Supporters of the Black marines have held several demonstrations and have scheduled another one—a community speak-out—for mid-March. Speakers planned include Dr. Charles Thomas, president of the San Diego NAACP; Vernon Sukumu, director of Black Federation; Robert Albert, editor of the *San Diego Observer*; and Peter Schey.

To help organize the speak-out, write to the San Diego Student Coalition Against Racism at Post Office Box 381, San Diego, California 92101, or telephone (714) 232-5898.

The Camp Pendleton Fourteen Legal Defense Fund can be reached at Post Office Box 2235, Oceanside, California 92054.

Malcolm X

Malcolm X was assassinated twelve years ago this month. His passing dealt a blow to the struggle for Black rights.

During the last years of his life, Malcolm had charted a course that put him at loggerheads with America's racist status quo. More than any other Black leader of his time, Malcolm championed the need for an uncompromising fight against Black oppression.

Malcolm was an internationalist. He traveled to Africa to enlist the support of leaders there for the Black struggle in the United States. He sought to instill in young Blacks a fierce pride in their African heritage and thirst for their true history.

Malcolm was opposed to hitching the Black movement to Democratic and Republican politicians. He stood for a new brand of Black politics independent of both big-business parties.

Malcolm's ideas were a threat to America's capitalist rulers. And while his assassination did not destroy those ideas, it gave foes of Black equality a sought-after breathing space.

From the moment Malcolm was shot February 21, 1965, state, local, and federal officials began a cover-up of his assassination. Now Pathfinder Press has published a book exposing that cover-up, *The Assassination of Malcolm X*. (See ad on page 26.)

This important new book shows how the government ignored and twisted vital evidence. It looks at files on FBI disruption programs against the Black movement—files that suggest possible government complicity in the murder.

While the House Select Committee on Assassinations has recently been granted another sixty days, it has no intention of investigating the murder of Malcolm X.

The government should release all its files on Malcolm's assassination so that the American people can know the full truth.

Carter & 'illegals'

Jimmy Carter has given new impetus to the campaign against undocumented Mexican workers. Until recently, the drive against those who come across the border without immigration permits had been spearheaded mainly by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, with the eager cooperation of the media and racist politicians. (See story on page 17.)

Carter used a February 9 meeting with sixteen members of Congress from the Southwest as the occasion for his opening salvos.

At the Capitol Hill meeting, the president said that he "realized the desirability of placing tight constraints on employers" who hire undocumented workers.

This is just one more example of Carter's duplicity. While bidding for Chicano votes, he spoke mainly about giving "legitimate status" to millions of undocumented workers who have been here a certain period of time.

But apparently Carter didn't even refer to this campaign promise in remarks to the sixteen legislators.

Carter's statement means that harassment, victimization, and deportation of brown-skinned people—both "legal" and "illegal"—will intensify.

This ominous new development drives home the importance of organizing a broad movement in defense of undocumented people. They are guilty of but one "crime"—coming to the United States in search of a desperately needed chance to make a living. Their right to do so should be defended by everyone concerned with justice and human dignity.

And there is more at stake. The capitalists are trying to use the racist hysteria against "illegals" to get working people to blame one another for unemployment, instead of blaming the social system that can't provide enough jobs.

The hysteria against *mexicano* undocumented workers inevitably spills over and hits the Chicano people as well. To a racist, every brown-skinned person is an "alien" who ought to be "sent back where they came from."

Such an atmosphere only helps to perpetuate discrimination on all fronts—economic, social, and political.

Unity behind the undocumented people will benefit all of us.

More on energy 'crisis'

This year's cold winter and the resultant natural gas "crisis" requires that socialists be able to answer questions that people have concerning energy. I think it is clear to the *Militant* that development of nuclear energy is a big issue. I feel a great need for an analysis by the *Militant* of the whole energy problem.

I think a series of articles on this question is in order. This could start with the natural gas question.

Socialists and many other people distrust the government and corporations when they start screaming about such crises (the oil crisis and meat shortage of a few years ago taught many of us to be wary). But without the facts, we are at a loss when confronted with this question.

Is there a real shortage? What are the statistics on the amount of profits public utilities are raking in? How can we prove what many of us suspect—that the companies are using this crisis simply to raise the price of natural gas and that there really is no shortage at this time?

What about the long-range problem of depletion of natural resources? How do profit motives enter into what the corporations involved in developing alternative sources of energy decide to invest in?

*Sandi Sherman
San Jose, California*

'Shortage' closes schools

Because of the alleged gas shortage, 59,000 public-school children in Pittsburgh were out of school for three weeks. This posed a great hardship for many working parents. Leaving a child at home to fend for him or herself on a daily basis is dangerous. No sane society would impose such cruelty on children.

Where I work at Carnegie-Mellon University, a private, elite, white school, whose clerical workers average about \$7,000 a year, there is also a preschool program.

A week after the public schools were closed "until further notice," administrators of the preschool circulated a notice to all staff and faculty that "emergency child care" was available until schools reopened. Reading further: \$11.00 a day!

It's also interesting to note that although there was not enough fuel to heat the schools, there was enough to keep open Sears Roebuck, Horne's, Kaufmann's, and all other big local department stores.

*C.T.
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

Release gov't spy files

In the January 28 *Militant* you ran an article, "Chicago union official admits red squad ties," that was about Sheli Lulkin, an executive board member of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and a national figure in the American Federation of Teachers (AFT).

I was interested to read that Sheli Lulkin had worked as a labor spy for the government. I immediately recognized her picture and remembered her activities during the December 1975 national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

At that convention I was a member of the AFT caucus, which Sheli Lulkin headed up. At one point a crucial resolution was on the floor that would have made the Equal Rights Amendment a national priority for CLUW work.

Lulkin came over to the table where I was sitting and told our AFT delegates to vote against this resolution because the Socialist Workers party was behind it. Although virtually all the AFT delegates supported CLUW's fight for the ERA, most of them fell victim to Lulkin's red-baiting tactics and voted no on the resolution.

I believe AFT members have a right to know the full extent of Sheli Lulkin's spying activities in our union. The CTU and AFT should demand the release of all government files on her.

*Judy Kleinberg
Brooklyn, New York*

Attica continues

Brother John Hill is one of many Native American people who is suffering from the white man's justice. Governor Carey pardoned everybody in the Attica uprising but Louis Aidal, former Attica special prosecutor, cannot believe that Governor Carey would let an Indian go free—after all, the Indian is the enemy of the state. John Hill is Mohawk Indian, and it is with no surprise that Hill is still in jail. Who else is the scapegoat for the white man's mistakes but the American Indian?

John Hill's spirit was with us during Wounded Knee. And now, our spirits are with John Hill. He is the victim of white man's law on his own land.

*Skouk Psaklazi
Albany, New York*

'Life above vengeance'

Gary Gilmore was the first person in ten years to be executed in the United States. He will almost certainly not be the last to die in this way in the decade ahead. The authorities who favor capital punishment could not have found a more likely candidate, for their purposes, to face execution.

Gilmore's crime was murder. He admitted that he was a killer, and he "wanted to die." For these reasons there was relatively little public opposition to his death.

And now that the initial blow is over and the public has been effectively desensitized to the killing of capital offenders, the authorities will surely be killing others. The circumstances will not need to be as clearly defined next time.

Perhaps the next person will not "want to die." Perhaps the crime will not have been murder. Perhaps guilt will not have been as clearly established. Perhaps people like the Rosenbergs will be executed in the 1970s.

If ultimate injustice of this kind is to be avoided, it may be necessary for us common citizens to place life above vengeance, to urge our state legislatures not to enact any statutes that provide for capital punishment, and to realize that there is something worthy of survival in every one of us—prisoners, ex-prisoners, and pre-prisoners alike.

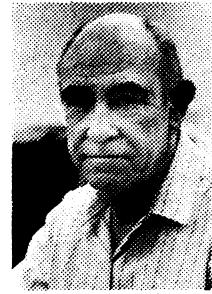
*Katherine Gordon
New Paltz, New York*

Poor whites

I have read your paper now for several months, and I am very interested in the Socialist Workers party's viewpoints and also in the truths of what you are saying. The only thing I dislike is that the *Militant* concentrates almost entirely upon the disadvantaged minorities and on union activities.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Democratic backstabbing

The following guest column was written by Howard Reed, who is active in Illinois AFSCME.

CHICAGO—After eight months of contract negotiations the state of Illinois has refused to give a pay raise to 30,000 state employees represented by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The last wage increase for these workers came in 1974. Since that time, the cost of living has risen 14 percent.

One year ago, AFSCME won bargaining rights for the 30,000 workers. The union's election victory legally obligated the state to bargain in "good faith." When negotiations began, a number of improvements regarding grievance procedure, union rights, health and safety, and fairer transfer and promotion policies were successfully negotiated by the union.

Management refused to budge on the question of a pay increase, however. Administrators used the excuse that since Gov. Daniel Walker, a Democrat, would soon be replaced by newly elected Republican James Thompson, they could not make promises for Thompson. They said wages would have to be negotiated with Thompson.

In addition, a no-strike clause previously negotiated was to remain in effect, so the union would have one hand tied behind its back from the start. Walker gave an ultimatum—either accept a contract with no assurance of a wage increase, or reject everything already negotiated. Faced with this intransigence, the union was forced to reject the entire contract.

Several days later, Walker held a news conference to boast about the state's financial healthiness. He said Illinois would end the fiscal year with a surplus of more than \$150 million and advised his successor that the "prudent management" that led to this surplus should continue.

In other words, the state had money—it just didn't have money for state employees. For good measure, Walker also suggested that the budgets for higher education and for welfare recipients not be raised.

Walker's position shocked many people in the union. AFSCME members had received little information on the bargaining during the course of negotiations. There was no hint that trouble was afoot until the last few weeks.

One reason the union was unprepared for this turn of events was the misplaced hopes the union leadership had in Governor Walker. AFSCME had contributed \$15,000 to Walker's unsuccessful bid for renomination in the Democratic primary. This money was given on the basis that Walker would be more pro-union and more pro-public worker than his adversaries. It didn't take long for the futility of such support to be shown.

AFSCME, here in Illinois as elsewhere, is coming face to face with an attack on social services and public employees that is being spearheaded by both the Democratic and Republican parties. To rely on the politicians of these parties to change this is a dead end.

Thompson, who is now in office, has not yet responded to AFSCME's request to reopen negotiations. During his first month in office, he initiated a partial job freeze and told the state educational system to "lower its expectations" for the next fiscal year.

AFSCME has been holding meetings this month across the state to inform members and discuss the situation. There is anger at the arrogance and deceitfulness of state officials, and a determination to intensify the fight for a good contract.

AFSCME is a union that depends heavily on community support to win gains for its membership. What is needed now is an orientation not only toward organizing union members for the necessary fight, but also discussions on how to rally public support and maximize the public pressure on Thompson.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Carter's 'gratitude'

DENVER—A Mexican-American politico declared recently, "Carter spoke Spanish in election commercials, but what is he saying to us now?"

The phrase, "Get lost kid, ya bother me," comes to mind.

The Mexican-Americans who helped put Carter in office are complaining that the man with the big grin is not keeping his campaign promise to put some Latinos in high government posts.

The Carter team that carried out the great "talent hunt" to fill the appointments couldn't find many Chicanos. Of the first fifty posts filled, only one went to a Mexican-American.

Maybe Carter should have hired the Border Patrol for his "talent hunt." They don't seem to have any trouble finding Mexicans. They even find people they're not supposed to find.

Maybe the talent hunters did find some Chicanos, but decided they didn't have any talent. But Carter's Mexican-American friends must have some talent. They claim credit for "the largest Mexican-American voter turnout in the history of our country."

Henry Lacayo said, "We [Latinos] were the margin of victory in Texas, New York, and Ohio. Even where the state went Republican, as in California, Chicano districts were from 70 to 82 percent Democratic."

And, it's not that these post-hunting Mexican-Americans are hard to find. Quite the contrary. Carter didn't even really need a "talent hunt" to find them. They've been announcing their availability like a trumpet blast for the Second Coming. Frustrated, they took out a full-page ad in the January 19 *Los Angeles Times*.

Addressing itself to Carter, the ad states, "Your neglect of Mexican Americans in your recent appointments leads us to wonder if once again we are victims of political campaign rhetoric."

Yes, *compañeros*, you have been taken. Another

gringo politician has made a whistle stop in the East LA barrio, eaten enchiladas, put on a sombrero, promised you the sky in exchange for the Chicano vote, and you fell for it. Now we know why the man grins so much.

The ploy is old, really old. The politician makes a lot of promises, and community leaders get out the vote for him. But when the time comes for him to deliver, the theme seems to be, "What have you done for me lately?"

The aspiring Mexican-American politicians are willing victims of this con game. But the Chicano people are the ones who are really being taken for a ride, both by Carter and by the vote hustlers who tell Chicanos to vote for him.

Carter's biggest con game of all is that while he makes vague promises about helping Chicanos, he does nothing to alleviate the second-class status of *la raza*.

He has already announced that he intends to do nothing about unemployment. He doesn't support either affirmative action or bilingual-bicultural education. He appointed a racist as attorney general. He isn't doing anything to curb *la migra's* raids in the community or its racist propaganda campaign in the nation's press. He has no proposals to end poverty in the barrio.

Carter's attempt to keep Chicanos out of government is deplorable. Chicanos should have the right to participate in running this country at every level.

But even if the president does eventually break down and put some brown window dressing in his administration, that will be no gain for the Chicano people. Only when Chicanos have organized their own struggles for better jobs, for language and cultural rights, for a union for the *campesinos*, and against discrimination and police brutality has any progress ever been made.

This leaves out massive portions of the population, such as nonunion, poor, and lower-middle-class white workers.

I, for instance, am unemployed. When I am employed, I rarely make more than \$300 a month; thus, I can receive only \$30 a week on unemployment. I visit the unemployment office better than once a week, but for more than three months they have not had even one unskilled job opening.

I am not trying to belittle the plight of minorities, but only suggesting that a few more articles be added about the plight of poor whites.

I think this would be of interest to the entire American proletariat and also might help to educate instead of alienate poorer white workers. I also think this would help create a paper that more reflects the total American scene.

David J. Miller
Porterville, California

News from a penitentiary

Repressions continue in the notorious control unit of the U.S. Penitentiary at Marion, Illinois.

During the first two weeks of 1977, five prisoners complained of drugging. The drug, apparently administered in the food or drink, causes severe dysfunction of the nervous system with violent symptoms.

One prisoner upon complaining was told, "It is significant that only you report this." After his complaint, he was interviewed for the second time in recent months as to the possibility of being transferred to the federal Medical Center at Springfield, Missouri.

Three prisoners have been threatened with beatings. Two more have had their properties seized.

One is receiving notices of letters almost daily; the letters from friends and supporters are being rejected as contraband correspondence by the prison officials.

This particular prisoner is the lone surviving witness to a murder by prison officials and fears for his own life.

The repression continues.

A prisoner
Marion, Illinois

'Behind the Nylon Curtain'

On the strength of a favorable review I remembered reading a year or so ago in the *Militant*, I bought a copy of *DuPont: Behind the Nylon Curtain* when I ran across it recently in a used book store.

Having just finished it, I would strongly urge other *Militant* readers to get their hands on this book.

Don't let the 600-plus pages scare you, this book won't put you to sleep. Although tedious in sections, it is for the most part a well written and incredibly detailed history of one of America's most powerful ruling families.

If you want to take a good long look at the face of the enemy—read *DuPont: Behind the Nylon Curtain*.

Floyd Fowler
Brooklyn, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Urges independent labor political action

Garza hits role of Democrats in NY crisis

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—"Today there is no way the Democratic party can dodge responsibility for the cutbacks inflicted on working people in this city," Catarino Garza emphasized.

Garza is the newly announced Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York. In a recent interview with the *Militant*, he discussed the status of the city's "fiscal crisis," a crucial issue in the campaign.

"We've had a Democratic mayor and governor and a Democratic-controlled Congress throughout the so-called budget crisis," Garza said.

"Now there's a Democrat in the White House as well. But despite all Carter's campaign promises—and the even more extravagant promises made about Carter by vote-hustling union officials—the outlook here is for more layoffs, frozen wages, and even deeper cuts into our vital social services."

Garza insists that there is plenty of money to restore jobs and improve services in New York. "The question is who controls the wealth and who benefits from it—that's what is really at stake," he said.

"Let's take some examples. The one item in the city budget that is *growing* is the money paid to the rich in interest on city bonds. No cutback there. It's up to \$2.4 billion a year—more than the city spends on schools, hospitals, welfare, or anything else."

"Even more billions of our tax dollars go to Washington to be squandered on weapons for the Pentagon. No cutback there. Instead, just the other day Carter said he will increase war spending to the highest level ever."

"The program of both the Democratic and Republican parties is money to the rich, money to the war makers. The Socialist Workers party says let's take that money and use it to restore social services and put unemployed people to work."

Demands by bankers

Garza called the budget cutbacks part of a "long-term drive by the capitalists to solve *their* economic problems on the backs of the American workers."

The latest sign that the "belt tightening" by New Yorkers is intended to be permanent, Garza said, is the demand by New York banks that the authority of the Emergency Financial Control Board or another similar body be extended for up to *twenty years*.

The function of the control board, set up in 1975, is to oversee and enforce the cutback program. It is empowered to freeze wages and declare union contracts null and void.

The banks are also demanding, as a condition for doing further business with the city, that they be exempted from the municipal affirmative-action program that would require them to provide a fair share of jobs to women and minority groups.

"This arrogant demand shows how broad the attacks have become in the drive to protect profits," Garza said. "They hope to wipe out all the social, political, and economic gains made by Blacks, Hispanics, other minorities, and women during the 1960s. The success big business has had in attacking municipal workers here encourages them to move ahead."

Garza explained that the most important factor in the defeats suffered by New York workers is the treacherous role of the union officialdom.

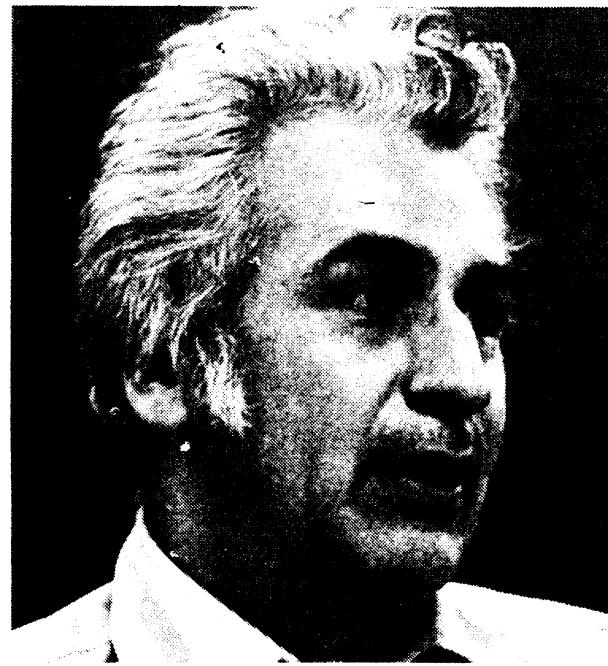
'Recovery' plan

Within days after the banks' demand for extension of the control board became public, a joint committee of business and labor officials released its program for the "economic regeneration" of New York City.

The twenty-five business leaders and labor chiefs—led by David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan bank, and Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council—called for deep tax cuts for business, abolition of rent control, easing of air pollution standards, and tariff protection for local industries.

Rockefeller said of himself and Van Arsdale: "Our ancestors would be somewhat amazed, to say the least, at the prospect of a lifelong labor leader and a lifelong capitalist joining together in common cause at a union headquarters."

Garza laughed when reminded of the quote. "David Rockefeller has every reason to be pleased with the performance of the labor bureaucrats in this city," Garza said. "I see where Victor Gotbaum [executive director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, District Council



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
CATARINO GARZA: Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of New York and member of United Federation of Teachers.

37], in a *New York Times* interview the other day, called Rockefeller 'quite sensitive and quite understanding.'

"There is nothing more pathetic and disgusting than someone kissing the boot that's kicking the stuffings out of them," the SWP candidate said.

Capitulation

"These 'labor statesmen' have capitulated to the bankers without even putting up a fight."

Legitimate collective bargaining agreements have been declared null and void—the unions ordered to renegotiate them for less money. None of the contracts with banks, bondholders, large realtors, or big businesses—none of David Rockefeller's contracts!—are declared invalid because they are too costly. Only contracts dealing with wages and working conditions are expendable.

"These union officials have accepted the elimination of more than 50,000 municipal jobs plus 20,000 teaching positions.

"The New York City union movement could lead a powerful, united opposition against all the cuts. Instead, they not only accept them without a fight, they cooperate in implementing the cutbacks."

Garza pointed to the "no cost" contracts that all the municipal unions now operate under. The unions receive a meager cost-of-living increase, but in order to collect it they must come up with "productivity savings" equal to the cost of the increase.

"Productivity savings in municipal government," said Garza, "can only mean more speedups, more layoffs, and more cuts in services. And the unions take responsibility for proposing and implementing them."

"These layoffs and the cuts in social services hit the Black and Latino communities the hardest. Now the Central Labor Council, in a craven attempt to curry favor with the bosses, calls for an end to rent control and reduced taxes for big business."

"The policies of these labor bureaucrats isolate the unions from their crucial allies in the Black and Latino communities. Instead they think their allies

are Democratic party politicians and capitalists like David Rockefeller.

"They parrot the propaganda of these capitalists and their political spokesmen," Garza said. "They repeat the fable that everyone has to sacrifice equally to help the city. When big business talks about 'equality of sacrifice,' what they mean is your sacrifice equals more profits for them."

New York City union officials were obviously stunned by the proposal to extend the Emergency Financial Control Board for twenty years.

Gotbaum, speaking for all the municipal unions, complained: "The banks clearly have no faith in the political process with respect to self-government. They clearly intend to reduce the role of elected officials to one of ribbon cutting, opening branch banks and department stores."

"It's all well and good," Garza said, "to demand that control be returned to elected officials. But which elected officials? Responsible to whom?"

"The present union leaders have made a career out of organizing labor support for the Democratic politicians and occasionally some Republicans, soliciting in return a few meager concessions for their unions."

"But, as I pointed out before, the politicians of both capitalist parties are committed to massive cutbacks and attacks on the unions. The unions' 'alliance' with the Democrats is getting us exactly nowhere."

Cover-up for Democrats

"You know," Garza said, "Gotbaum threw the political and financial resources of District Council 37 into campaigning for Hugh Carey, a Democrat, for governor in 1974. Now Gotbaum complains that Carey has become an 'ideological Republican.'

"That's absurd!" the socialist candidate declared. "It's a cover-up for the Democratic party. If Carey's acting like a Republican, why don't the other Democrats repudiate him?"

"How is Carey any different from Mayor Beame, or the congressional Democrats who are blocking aid to New York, or President Carter? He obviously isn't."

"Every day it becomes clearer. There is no fundamental difference between the Democratic and Republican parties."

"But that doesn't mean working people can or should ignore politics. We cannot ignore who runs the government."

"It is the politicians, acting for the capitalists, who decree the wage freezes, set up the control boards, implement the cutbacks, sabotage the civil rights laws, and lower the pollution standards."

"It's time for the unions to take up the fight against cutbacks, against layoffs, against the attacks on Black, Puerto Rican, and women's rights. That fight can only be conducted effectively by breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties and launching independent labor political action."

"This is the message I'll be taking everywhere I campaign," Garza said. "Our socialist campaign will set an example of the kind of independent working-class campaign that the entire labor movement should be running. I'll be explaining the need for an independent labor party based on the vast power of organized labor."

"With the performance the Democrats are putting on," he said, "I think we're going to win more support this year than ever before."



Militant/Linda Jenness
'The New York City union movement could lead a powerful, united opposition against all the cuts.'

Red-baiting in ERA mov't

Playing the legislators' game



Militant/Harris Freeman

Socialist Workers party advocates united mobilizations of all ERA supporters—regardless of political affiliation—to win ratification.

By Toba Singer

RICHMOND, Va.—The Equal Rights Amendment in Virginia remains unratified after it lost in the senate by one vote January 27. But a spirited speak-out of 650 here January 15 confirmed the potential for a movement of Virginians that can force the legislature to a pro-ERA vote. (See January 28 *Militant*.)

ERA supporters face a united, right-wing opposition out to stop ratification. They fear the power we can wield if we begin to mobilize the masses of women who support the ERA.

One cornerstone of the kind of movement that can put enemies of women's rights on the defensive and win victories is a clear policy of including everyone who supports the ERA in the fight. No one should be excluded because of their views on other issues, whether they're Democrats, Republicans, socialists, lesbians, or Catholics.

There are supporters of the ERA who oppose the strategy of mobilizing masses of women to win ratification. They believe instead that lobbying and polite, insistent letters to legislators are the way to victory. They aim especially to avoid "offending" legislators with public displays of power or with "undesirable elements" in ERA coalitions.

Rather than debate this strategy, however, they sometimes resort to red-baiting those with differing perspectives for the movement. For instance, they may single out socialists for attack solely for their political affiliation, hoping to avoid a discussion of perspectives for winning ratification.

But red-baiting serves only to divide and disrupt the women's movement, a scene greeted with glee by our enemies.

Richmond example

In Richmond this fall, women had ample proof of red-baiting's debilitating effects. And we also saw how this destructive tactic can be turned on its head.

In the past, the forces in Richmond working for the ERA—led mainly by the National Organization for Women and the Richmond Ratification Council—limited their activities to behind the scenes lobbying.

Last November the YWCA Public Policy Commit-

tee and the Ratification Council initiated the Richmond ERA Week Coalition. January 8-15 was designated ERA Week to coincide with the opening of the Virginia General Assembly.

The coalition sent letters to more than 200 groups urging them to endorse ERA Week. A broad range responded positively, including Virginia Education Association, Alexandria NOW, Virginia Commonwealth University for the ERA, and the Socialist Workers party.

When the January 15 speak-out was proposed as the week's culminating event at the first planning meeting, representatives from Richmond NOW and the Ratification Council opposed it.

They argued that the ERA had to be won "quietly." On the one hand, they said, the public couldn't be won to support of the ERA. On the other, even if it could, a public outpouring of support would anger legislators.

Strong support for the speak-out proposal came from representatives from the Socialist Workers party, YWCA board, and Women's Political Caucus. The meeting voted to go ahead with the speak-out.

Later NOW representative Louise Wright and Ratification Council representative Jean Hellmuth learned that Gloria Steinem had agreed to head the speakers list and that SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid might be invited to speak. So they stepped up their efforts against the speak-out.

They said feminists in the coalition were trying to impose a "feminist image" on the ERA and the movement supporting it.

'Taking over'

They further charged that the SWP was "taking over" the coalition.

At the next coalition meeting Hellmuth went so far as to threaten to cancel a fund-raising event for ERA Week that she was organizing if Reid were to speak.

This blackmail attempt added to the confusion, and the meeting voted ten-to-five to exclude the socialist speaker. There were several abstentions.

The red-baiters came to the next meeting prepared to go even further: to exclude the entire SWP from the ERA Week Coalition. This time they failed.

This meeting was a larger meeting with represen-

tatives from every leading pro-ERA organization in Richmond.

A list of endorsers of ERA Week was read from which both the SWP and the Lesbian Feminists were conspicuously absent.

At one point Hellmuth and Wright tried to declare the coalition dissolved because one of the two initiating groups, the YWCA, was no longer functioning.

Beth Marschak, from the Third District Women's Political Caucus, moved that "any and all organizations who respond affirmatively to the call for ERA Week be included on the list of endorsers."

"The coalition cannot vote to stop the SWP from supporting the ERA," Marschak said during the discussion. "The coalition *does* have the power to exclude the SWP from our ranks."

"But I think that such action would be very serious. It would pave the way for excluding anyone the anti-ERA legislators tell us to exclude."

'Right to express support'

Betsy Brinson, from the Virginia American Civil Liberties Union, added, "The issue here is not whether we offend the legislators—but whether we support the First Amendment by giving anyone who supports the ERA, whether or not we accept their overall philosophy, the right to express their support openly."

Brinson cited examples of other organizations not popular with the state assembly, such as Common Cause, ACLU, and AFL-CIO.

"Should we exclude those organizations too?" she asked.

The vote on Marschak's non-exclusion motion was twenty-two to three in favor of including all groups that support ERA Week.

The January 15 speak-out was the largest pro-ERA event ever held in Virginia.

Addressing the 650 in attendance, Steinem underscored the need for a policy of including all who support the ERA in the movement to win it.

"As soon as you decide to play by the rules which the anti-ERA legislators lay down for you, they will change the rules," she said. Steinem stressed that "playing their game makes the women's movement vulnerable to defeat."

Blacks, Puerto Ricans demand fair housing

By Candida McCollam and Magdalena González

BROOKLYN, N.Y.—The issue of housing discrimination has once again flared up in the Williamsburgh section of Brooklyn.

These reporters went to Williamsburgh on January 27 to talk with Alex Miranda, a member of the Williamsburgh Fair Housing Committee (FHC). He is also president of the Tenants Association at Roberto Clemente Plaza, focal point of the current housing struggle in Williamsburgh.

Miranda traced the origin of housing bias in the community back to 1964. In that year the city began a vast urban renewal plan aimed at upgrading housing in south Brooklyn.

Although some residents were asked to move temporarily to make way for the renewal efforts, they were promised

first choice of the new low- and middle-income dwellings when they were completed—a pledge that was quickly forgotten by city authorities.

Many Blacks and Hispanics who were "temporarily" relocated were not given the opportunity to return to their old neighborhood.

For example, in three of the newly constructed projects in Williamsburgh, Black and Puerto Rican families occupy only 25 to 40 percent of the apartments.

In light of the city's repeated failure to supply the promised housing, residents formed the Fair Housing Committee.

Last December the FHC spearheaded the take-over of Roberto Clemente Plaza. The take-over had been urged by the 157 families who had signed leases but had been prevented

from moving in on the pretext that the building was still under construction.

In response to the occupation, the United Jewish Organization (UJO), which represents the part of the Hasidic community in the low- and middle-income development, issued a legal challenge.

The UJO, Miranda explained, claims that as a minority group Hasidic Jews should occupy 75 percent of the Roberto Clemente Plaza.

In a countersuit, the FHC is demanding 75 percent of the 228 apartments for Hispanic and Black tenants. This would bring the housing project into closer racial balance with the ethnic makeup of the community before urban renewal planners moved in during the 1960s.

The city administration and news media have tried to make the issue

appear as a racial and religious conflict between the Jewish and Puerto Rican communities in Williamsburgh. But religion is not at all the issue in this struggle.

According to Miranda, New York's Mayor Abraham Beame has called for the UJO and FHC to find a solution among themselves. City politicians are afraid that an open court battle would expose the city's discriminatory policies and threaten federal urban renewal funds.

Nonetheless, the case remains in court and tenants at Roberto Clemente Plaza have demonstrated and spoken out with the intention of winning support for their cause.

"What we're asking the city is to recognize us as first-class citizens," says Miranda. "We have that right."

SAC, San Francisco

Director, FBI

WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT (WLM)

8-7-70

The Bureau does not concur with your recommendation that a report on WLM activity within your division is not warranted at this time.

The WLM has emerged as a loosely structured, but nevertheless nationwide feminine activist movement comprised of women with political opinions ranging from liberal to radical extremism. Interwoven with its goals for equal rights for women, is the advocacy of violence to achieve these goals. The WLM has also demonstrated its readiness to support or accept support from other extremist or revolutionary-type organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and others. WLM affiliates have also established ties with their Canadian counterparts.

In view of the above, it is absolutely essential that we conduct sufficient investigation to clearly establish subversive ramifications of the WLM and to determine the potential for violence presented by the various groups connected with this movement as well as any possible threat they may represent to the internal security of the United States.

Hoover's order: 'Establish subversive ramifications of WLM'



NEW YORK: Aug. 26, 1970

stated that a mailing list was passed around at the April 6, 1969 meeting for WLM and the "Red Stockings", another women's group.

made available information that in April, 1969, the New York Women's Liberation distributed a one page printed paper captioned "Abortion Counseling Information".

advised that meetings of an unnamed WLM group held meetings at Apartment 1A, 329 East 13th Street, New York, New York, on May 8 and 20, 1969.

Discussed at these meetings were the subjects of women leaders and the suffragette movement.

advised that on May 15, 1969, a WLM group, without a name, held a meeting at 339 East 58th Street, Apartment 6B, New York, New York. There were 12 people present and they discussed plans for possible future actions.

advised that on May 10, 1969, at the New School, 18th Street and 5th Avenue, New York, New York, the Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS) held their internal education project.

One of the workshops they conducted was on Women's Liberation Movement. Present at this workshop were about 40 people.

The basic discussion, according to concerned the oppression of women in this society.

FBI tried to keep up with all the women's groups and activities.

NEW

FBI VS. WOMEN

Newly released documents show government feared women's liberation movement

By Diane Wang

Did the agents watch from parked cars or shaded doorways? Or did they just wait for a police dispatch?

The FBI documents don't tell.

The September 6, 1969, teletype from the New York FBI reports only the results of the stake-out: "four girls" departed in a Volkswagen for the women's protest outside the Miss America pageant.

In the following years the agents stopped calling women "girls." But the 1,377 pages of FBI files on the women's movement released this month under a Freedom of Information Act request show that the government did not give up its contempt for women or its crusade against women's rights.

The files show that every woman who wanted equal rights, who went to consciousness-raising "rap" groups, public meetings, picket lines, speak-outs, conferences, demonstrations, or women's art fairs—all these women were targets of FBI surveillance and action.

The 1,377 pages name and describe hundreds of women. The FBI reports cover chapters of the National Organization for Women, the huge demonstrations called by NOW on August 26, 1970, and many other women's activities and groups.

Find the WLM group

When women's liberation swept the country in the late 1960s, the FBI didn't know what to make of it. What's this? the G-men asked themselves.

J. Edgar Hoover sent out the order: find who is behind this conspiracy. Find the group called "Women's Liberation Movement" (WLM in the FBI files) and its officers.

Around the country agents scurried to find the WLM headquarters. The Chicago FBI office sent back a bewildered reply: "[blank space] had no information concerning a group or organization called 'Women's Liberation Movement.'"

The report added, "It would seem that an abortive attempt may have been made to organize or affiliate all women into an organization but it never materialized."

(That agent's skepticism about women's ability to organize was soon proved wrong. The FBI reported 30,000-40,000 women at the New York demonstration called by NOW only one year later.)

The San Francisco FBI had other ideas: "The Women's Liberation Movement may be considered as subversive to the New Left and revolutionary movements as they have proven to be a divisive and factionalizing factor. . . . It could be well recommended as a counterintelligence movement to weaken the revolutionary movement."

The New York FBI came the closest to reality: "The WLM, so far as [blank space] is aware, is not an organization as such but rather a cause and philosophy. . . . The philosophy WLM preaches is complete equality in all facets of the socio, political and economic life for all women."

Did that reassure the G-men? Some field offices suggested to FBI headquarters that there was no need to probe further.

But J. Edgar Hoover knew better. He recognized that women's demands for equal pay, abortion rights, child care, and respect posed a profound challenge to the values and institutions of capitalist society.

To the government, the demand that all democratic rights and opportunities be extended to the female half of the population equaled subversion. Just like demands by Blacks for civil rights were subversive. Just like demanding a halt to the Vietnam War was subversive.

To justify government operations against the women's movement, Hoover wrote

" . . . Interwoven with its goals for equal rights for women, is the advocacy of violence to achieve these goals. The WLM has also demonstrated its readiness to support or accept support from other extremist or revolutionary-type organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), and others. WLM affiliates share also established ties with their Canadian counterparts.

"In view of the above, it is

absolutely essential that we conduct sufficient investigation to clearly establish subversive ramifications of the WLM. . . ."

Look closely at those "subversive ramifications".

Women might reach out to Blacks and other oppressed people to build a powerful social movement.

Or women, thinking about their lives and the oppression they face, might come to radical and even socialist conclusions.

Or women might reach across the border to Canada and beyond, building an international women's movement.

The FBI saw a tremendous threat in women's liberation.

Hoover's warnings about violence were simply excuses for the FBI's activities. Reports kept coming back about women's protests: "Demonstrations orderly and no violence occurred. No injuries to demonstrators or to police. No incidents, no snippings, no looting, no arson, no damage to property. No arrests."

FBI reports described how "each woman at this meeting stated why she had come to the meeting and how she felt oppressed, sexually or otherwise."

What did they look for?

The FBI was on the lookout for any connection between the women's movement and Black, Puerto Rican, or any other oppressed people. Women who had actively supported the Black Panthers, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), or the Young Lords were carefully noted.

The bureau was alarmed, for example, when the women's movement rallied to the defense of three jailed, pregnant Black Panther women. A 1969 women's demonstration in New Haven, Connecticut, demanded that the imprisoned women get adequate medical care and deliver their babies in normal hospital surroundings. The government marshaled its forces to monitor the protest.

The FBI also followed political debates among women, looking for openings to divide and weaken the women's movement. All the regular reports from field offices include a section on "factionalism."

A Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") memo from the FBI about the Black movement said, "No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations."

Divide & conquer tactics

That same memo might just as well have been written about the FBI's approach to the women's movement.

Agents carefully noted frictions between gay and heterosexual women. They watched closely for charges in women's groups that this or that leader was getting too much media attention.

The FBI was glad when some women's groups made the mistake of excluding socialists. Two reports from Washington, D.C., show why.

A July 1971 report noted, "Financial problems forcing WDC [Washington D.C.] Women's Liberation to close its office. . . . Money woes and recruitment failure endangers its viability in WDC. George Washington University Women's Liberation appears in a stronger position due to organizational support from Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) Women's Fraction."

The D.C. FBI's next report, however, described red-baiting that "resulted in the expulsion of the YSA women and the rapid decline in effectiveness of GWU-WLM [George Washington University women's liberation movement].

The newly released files are heavily censored to cover up the actual disruption carried out by the FBI. But evidence obtained through the SWP and YSA lawsuit against federal police agencies gives an idea of what agents did.

The evidence includes a vicious red-baiting pamphlet published by the FBI in 1972 under the title "Exploitation of Women's Movement by Socialist Workers Party."

The pamphlet, with its lies, half-truths, and McCarthy-style charges of "infiltration," was meant to disrupt and discredit not just the SWP, but the entire abortion rights movement in which socialist women were active.

FBI-MCP

If there is any doubt about the government's attitude or intentions toward women, the FBI's language settles that question. These agents were "male chauvinist pigs."

An agent reported that most women at one meeting "seemed to be making a real attempt to be unattractive."

The agent went on to comment, "One of the interesting aspects of the delegates' dress was the extreme fuzzy appearance of the hair of the majority of many of them. Someone said this appearance of the hair was gotten by



Militant/Flax Hermes

AVEN: Nov. 22, 1969

WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT:
DEMONSTRATION NOVEMBER 22, 1969
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

advised the BPP would hold a mass demonstration on Saturday, November 22, 1969, together with the New England Women's Liberation to protest the treatment of BPP members presently incarcerated for the murder of ALEX RACKLEY in New Haven.

The New Haven Women's Liberation has been identified as a Chapter in New Haven, Connecticut, of the Women's Liberation Movement. This organization has involved itself with activities at Yale University concerning women's employment and status.

On November 22, 1969, the "Black Panther", the official newspaper for the BPP, published an article captioned "The Torture of Panther Women" which is in part as follows:

"The repression of the Black Panther Party has taken a new and more vicious turn in the case of New Haven 14. Six women and eight men have been held on trumped-up charges and exorbitant bail (in reality ransom) since May, 1969 in the Nazi-like solitary confinement of the ruling class's concentration camps. Three of the women are pregnant. Two will give birth before the end of 1969."

Feds feared that women's liberation would join forces with Black movement.

braiding their hair in tiny braids and leaving it that way while it was wet until it dried. Then they would take out the braids. From the looks of their hair they apparently really don't bother to try and comb it out afterwards."

Sexism distorted the G-men's view and got in the way of accurate reporting. Women in these FBI reports didn't discuss. They "bickered." The agents couldn't follow a lively debate. To them it was just a bunch of women getting "emotional" or "more and more frustrated and crazy all the time."

The agents turned one woman's complaint against the Catholic church's antiwoman policies into a rumor of threatened terrorism against the church.

And, of course, radical and socialist women didn't join and help build the feminist groups. In FBI lingo they "infiltrated."

No holds barred

At the end of its hearings on the FBI, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence concluded: "The Bureau chose sides in the major social movements of the last fifteen years, and then attacked the other side with the unchecked power at its disposal."

The newly released files show that the G-men didn't spare any punches when it came to the women's movement.

One case study is the FBI operation against a women's conference held in 1970 at Fellowship Farm in Limerick, Pennsylvania.

The bureau alerted eight field offices up and down the East Coast about the meeting. The files record that "[blank space] surveyed the area at Fellowship Farm in the early hours of 10/25/70, and cruised through at first light. They obtained the license numbers from cars parked in the parking area. . . .

"Following this," the report continues, "they gave a ride to a white female, age about 55, who said she was an early riser and was looking for coffee and cigarettes. Agents took her to the Limerick Diner for breakfast. . . . Agents listened to her talk for about 40 minutes without revealing their identity. She talked incessantly about women's rights. . . ."

A report on another conference in Eugene, Oregon, lists every person who attended, neatly categorized by hometown and organizational ties. It also includes a ninety-five-page transcript of the entire conference.

But copying down license plates and names, bugging meetings, and pumping women for information is not the limit of FBI operations. A 1970 New Haven report gave an ominous hint of what the FBI was—and still is—up to.

"This office is following closely organizations which give indication of having subversive overtones," said the report, "and this Movement is one which will continue to receive special attention." (Emphasis added.)

Revelations of FBI programs against antiwar, Black, and socialist groups have taught people a little of the government's jargon. In all these cases, "special attention" meant burglaries, poison-pen letters, and disruption programs.

Beyond Limerick

Where are the records of the Cointel-pro operations against women? Those files are still being withheld. The 1,377 pages released are only a carefully selected sampling, censored to keep secret the most damning information.

The newly released files appear to be a cut-and-paste job with many deletions. The FBI took care to cover its sources and, where possible, to mislead readers about sources. Some information obtained through electronic surveillance or burglary is dressed up to look like it came from informers.

Just consider what is missing from the 1,377 pages:

- There are reports from only a handful of areas. But the women's movement—and the FBI—were both active in other cities. Where are the records?

- A conference of 200 women sent shivers up the FBI spine and warnings to agents around the nation. But the meetings at Limerick and Eugene were not the only conferences nor the largest. Where are the other reports?

- The 1,377 pages do not even include all that has been released previously in congressional reports on the FBI.

Among the newly released files, for instance, is a July 1969 report from New York. But it does not include its table of contents, which was printed in the congressional exhibits.

Why? Perhaps because what is listed in the table of contents as "Characterizations of Individuals" is also missing. Neither the congressional exhibit nor the newly released files include that section of the New York FBI's report.

- Files on the women's movement turned over for the SWP and YSA lawsuit against the FBI are omitted from the 1,377 pages.

And now?

Before we can know the full story of what the government did to the women's liberation movement, more records will have to be pried out of secret files—more from the FBI, files from Military Intelligence, the Secret Service, the CIA, and local red squads.

It is important to get out the full truth, because there is no reason to think that the government has stopped these tactics.

Especially now—when the government is on a full-scale attack against abortion, maternity benefits, affirmative action, and other women's rights—women need to know the full truth of what secret police agencies do to the women's liberation movement.

Affirmative action debate in Twin Cities

By Ilona Gersh

MINNEAPOLIS—A sharp debate has developed here over a report on affirmative action issued by the Employment Task Force of the Twin Cities National Organization for Women (NOW). Black community leaders, the neighboring St. Paul NOW chapter, and other feminists have spoken out against the report. Karen DeCrow, national president of NOW, sent a telegram to Twin Cities NOW disassociating herself and national NOW from it.

The report, "The Position of Women as a Disadvantaged Group in Minnesota State Government Employment," was critical of affirmative-action hiring programs for Blacks. The report's three main conclusions were:

- 1) Disadvantages due to sex are greater than those due to race.

- 2) Among the racial minority groups, Blacks are in a far better position than American Indians and those with Spanish surnames. In fact, on some criteria, Black men are in a more favorable position than white men.

- 3) Current affirmative-action efforts are directed disproportionately toward racial minorities with little attention being given to the problem of women.

The report became public in No-

tion stating, We realize that women's problems are linked to many broader questions of social justice; their solution will require concerted action by many groups.

"Therefore, convinced that human rights for all are indivisible, we expect to give active support to the common cause of equal rights for those who suffer discrimination and deprivation."

In a telegram to Twin Cities NOW, Karen DeCrow said that the chapter had contravened this constitutional clause.

The Twin Cities NOW chapter has decided to have a full discussion of the report February 27. Gillian Furst, one of the chapter's main opponents of the report, told the *Militant* that the meeting would give the membership "its first opportunity to thoroughly discuss the report."

She pointed out that the common enemies of equality for Blacks and women would like to see the movements divided. "I very much hope that when the members realize the implications of the report, they will vote to repudiate it," she said.

NOW must stand "foursquare in support of affirmative action. Not just for women, who have been severely discriminated against, but also for Blacks, whose jobless rates have con-



Women and Blacks have fought hard for small affirmative-action gains. They must unite against government and employer attacks on these and other rights.

vember and was covered by the local media.

"The terrible thing about this report is that it pits women and Blacks against each other," says Lorraine Page, a Black woman in the Minority Task Force of St. Paul NOW. "Instead of uniting together to get more affirmative action for all of us, it encourages us to fight with each other over the tiny gains we have made so far."

Two major Minneapolis Black organizations, the Urban League and Urban Coalition, sponsored a public forum on the report. Laura Scott of the Urban League said, "We feel that the whole effort of this report was directed at making Black men and Black women responsible for the inability of white women to find employment. . . ."

Scott made a plea to white NOW members not to "fight over the crumbs. Black and other minorities have managed to squeeze out of the socio-economic system."

Charlotte Striebel, the main author of the report, argued at the forum that the report reflects a real and serious conflict between women and Blacks.

Gayle Swann, a member of Twin Cities NOW and the Socialist Workers party, spoke out at the forum against the report, calling it "divisive in its effects."

In a statement against the report, St. Paul NOW said, "The Women's Movement is part of and not separate from, the Civil Rights Movement."

The St. Paul chapter also pointed to the clause in national NOW's constitu-

tinued to soar. I think it is essential to remove the label of NOW from this document."

Art Cunningham, past president of the Minneapolis NAACP, has said that the report is unfortunately "reaffirming in some Black people's minds that NOW is a white female organization uninterested in the aspirations of the Black community."

Ramona Austin, Black coordinator of the NOW Minority Task Force, also says that the report has undermined the work of Black feminists. Actions around Joanne Little and Yvonne Wanrow, minority women's speak-outs, and other joint actions between the Black and feminist movements have been gradually drawing more oppressed minorities into the feminist movement, Austin said. A report like this, she added, works against this.

Austin doesn't mince words. She calls the report "racist."

Affirmative Action vs. Seniority

by Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 30 pp., 50 cents
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Racist bill introduced

Bilingual education under attack in Colorado

By L. Paltrineri

DENVER—Many Chicanos here are outraged at the most recent attempt to undercut bilingual-bicultural education in this state.

State Rep. Carl Showalter has offered a bill that would eliminate the Colorado law that makes bilingual education mandatory under certain conditions. Under the proposed bill the establishment of bilingual programs would be left entirely to the local school boards, which are dominated by Anglos.

The legislature approved the law now in force in July 1975. It says that schools with 10 percent "linguistically different" children, or schools with more than fifty children who were raised in a language other than English, must have bilingual-bicultural programs in kindergarten through third grade.

Dozens of Chicanos packed the hearing room of the Colorado House Education Committee January 26 to condemn Showalter's bill.

Rep. Paul Sandoval, an original cosponsor of the bilingual education law, labeled the bill "racist."

Chicano parents and educators from around the state testified before Showalter's committee, seconding Sandoval's statement.

"You've been doing this to us far too long," protested one parent, Victor Allieres. "You give us a taste of something that's good for all of us, then you begin to take it away. . . .

"If these programs aren't mandated," Allieres explained, "then the people who need them won't get them. Our [school] board will be the first to take it away."

State board of education member Allen Lamb said he too was opposed to the proposed bill—but from a totally different perspective.

"I'm opposed to all bilingual-bicultural education," the right-wing board member said. "One thing that has made this country great is to be able to travel from border to border and function in one language."

"And forever so be it."

Besides, he continued, teaching Spanish in Colorado would "encourage preservation of a domineering religious



Many Chicano parents turned out for hearing on Showalter bill

cult," an attack on the religious beliefs of many Chicanos and *mexicanos*.

After a federal court ordered a desegregation plan for Denver public schools that included provisions for bilingual education, Chicanos throughout Colorado fought for bilingual education statewide.

In 1974, a strong bill guaranteeing the right to bilingual-bicultural education was introduced in the legislature.

In 1975 a somewhat weaker version was passed.

Racists have never accepted the rights won by Blacks and Chicanos to an equal education. The state legislature, judges, and local school boards have tried to sabotage the program.

In Denver, opposition to minority students' rights is organized by the Citizens Association for Neighborhood Schools (CANS), which is affiliated

with Boston's ROAR.

Under pressure from CANS, the Denver school board said only 100 Chicano students (out of more than 20,000 Chicano students) needed the program.

In the first year of the program the state legislature provided funding for bilingual education for only seven elementary schools.

Then in January 1976, appeals of the original Denver desegregation court order led to the elimination of the provisions for bilingual education.

The racists in CANS, with wind in their sails, continued to counterpose bilingual education to school desegregation. They hoped the Black and Chicano communities would fight each other rather than join in common struggle for equal education.

The Showalter bill is only one of many attempts to block bilingual education through the legislature. No sooner had debate on that bill begun than another bill was submitted. Still a third bill is before the state senate that

Continued on page 26

What's at stake

Even before the Colorado bilingual-bicultural education law was passed in 1975, some Colorado schools had already had a chance to evaluate the benefits of bilingual education. Several pilot programs had been set up with federal grants.

The results show why bilingual education is so important to Spanish-speaking children:

- Only 9 percent of the children in the program were held back instead

of being promoted to the next grade, compared with 53 percent before.

- In one city, absenteeism among Chicanos dropped from 9 percent to 2 percent.
- Improved grades and higher test scores showed students were learning more.
- Studies reported no conflicts between children of different language and cultural backgrounds in schools with the pilot programs.

School segregation, Manhattan-style

By Cliff Conner

Federal officials recently charged that New York City schools discriminate against Black and Puerto Rican students. As would be expected, the central school board denied it.

Segregated education in New York City? Can it be?

When my daughters began junior high school at Intermediate School 70 in Chelsea, I became aware of a puzzling phenomenon. Right across

among almost 30 different high schools."

Where, then, do the Hughes students come from? It turns out that they travel more than five miles to get there:

"The students who do attend Hughes High School are primarily Blacks from Harlem. Each day as they take a subway downtown, Chelsea students pass by in northbound trains to schools on the Upper West Side and 40 percent head crosstown to the East Side."

The article quotes Ira Glasser, head of the New York Civil Liberties Union, on the question of how this de facto segregation came about: "Open Enrollment" is what it's called technically, but this city is byzantine. White middle-class parents figure out the loopholes and get their kids into the best school possible."

The segregating mechanism in this case is a zoning system that is generally rigid for Blacks and flexible for whites. David Seeley, a former head of the federal Office of Civil Rights, explains that "there are a lot of informal arrangements which must remain informal because they can't stand the light of day."

It is not surprising that those offered the privilege of avoiding Hughes High School do so. Seeley points out that parents who can will bypass such "minority" schools because "the school system systematically deteriorates schools which have become minority schools."

The case of Hughes High is by no means unique among New York City schools. In

Manhattan as a whole, official figures indicate, 12 percent of the more than 50,000 high school students are white. While one Manhattan high school has a student body that is 70 percent white, in seven others 3 percent or less of the students are white. (Officially, Hughes is "1 percent" white.)

With this indisputable evidence of segregation, how do city school officials answer the federal charges of discrimination? For one thing, they use the time-honored reply, "You're another." Joseph Elias, director of integration and zoning for the central school board, exclaims, "Uncle Sam is the biggest segregator of all. Every city in America will be completely black and the suburbs will be all white—it's called 'apartheid.' This whole move, this 'white flight,' is government sponsored."

His point seems to be that federal highway programs, tax structures, and easy suburban mortgages have stimulated white migration to the point that not enough whites are left for desegregation purposes. "I can't singlehandedly manufacture kids to pump into the schools," he laments. But if he were really interested in locating white students, he would find quite a few conveniently clumped together in a few Manhattan schools.

When the city and federal governments point the finger of blame for racism at each other, both, of course, are right.

But neither is thereby let off the hook.

AS I SEE IT

the street from this junior high that has a sizable white enrollment stands Charles Evans Hughes High School, which has exactly zero white students. Since students are ostensibly zoned into schools on the basis of their home address, I wondered why white IS 70 graduates never appeared at Hughes.

A recent article in the *Chelsea Clinton News* shed some light on this mystery. First, the amazing statistical report:

"Last year the local intermediate school, IS 70 on West 17 Street, sent only six students to Hughes out of a class of 318. Over three quarters of the other graduates enrolled in schools more than three miles away. That class was scattered

Chicano leader sees new drive by 'migra'

By Mark Schneider

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—Chicano leaders here see it coming. The hand of *la migra*, the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service, is being strengthened.

La migra does the dirty work of deporting thousands of foreign-born workers from the country.

Herman Baca, a leader of the Committee on Chicano Rights in this small city near San Diego, recently returned from a meeting in Washington, D.C., with Chicano leaders from around the country to plan a response.

While sitting in the cramped office of his Aztec Print Shop, Baca outlined steps that the government has quietly taken against undocumented workers.

First is the Eilberg bill, which goes into effect this year. Baca described the bill as "one of the most blatantly anti-Mexican bills passed in the last one hundred years."

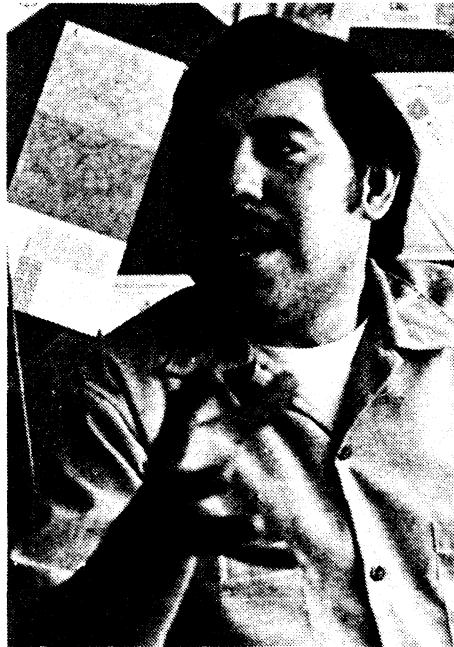
The Eilberg bill cuts the immigration quota from Mexico to the United States from 42,000 to 20,000 people. More *mexicanos* will be forced into illegal status when immigrating to this country.

"Now the INS can go to Congress and say, 'Look at this big problem we have. Why don't you give us more money for helicopters, barbed wire, and dogs to solve the problem?'" Baca pointed out.

The bill will mean deportations for

mexicanos whose children were born in the United States. Previously those parents were eligible for legal immigration preference.

Now, Baca said, "The child can stay, but the parents have to leave. What's a three-year-old child who is a U.S. citizen by birth supposed to do—stay here by itself?"



Militant/Marc Rich

BACA. 'Any anti-immigration law is also antilabor and anti-other oppressed ethnic groups.'

"The INS is in fact, by the Eilberg bill, deporting U.S. citizens—those children who will have to leave the country."

Baca argues that everyone who is eligible for documents should be allowed to step forward and assume legal status. "If our people are good enough to be worked, to make big profits for those multinational corporations, they're good enough to be documented. Let them come out of their illegal covert existence."

A second government offensive is the legal prosecution of four immigration counselors at the Manzo Area Council in Tucson, Arizona. The four counselors face one hundred sixty-six years in prison on felony charges of "aiding and abetting 'illegal aliens.'"

"If the government gets away with its indictments," Baca said, "No Mexican will be able to talk to another without checking their papers."

"Through this case, the U.S. government is now saying that everyone is supposed to do the job of the INS as far as law enforcement goes."

"Basically," Baca said, "it's an attack on everyone who is trying to deal with the immigration problem as it concerns the victimization of the millions of persons of Mexican ancestry in the Southwest."

The Committee on Chicano Rights has also spoken out against a door-to-door survey that the INS plans to

conduct in twelve states. The ostensible purpose of the survey is to find out how many undocumented workers live in the United States and what impact these so-called illegal workers have on society.

Baca blasted the \$1 million survey as "xenophobic." In a debate with an INS official printed in the *San Diego Union*, Baca explained why.

"Law enforcement is not the answer to what is basically a social, economic, and political problem," Baca insisted.

"The [law enforcement] activities, together with unlawful searches and seizures and interrogations lead to the victimization of millions of U.S. citizens and other properly documented residents, especially those of Mexican descent," Baca said.

Baca says there is a need for a major educational campaign to protest the government attacks.

"It's high time that church groups, civil libertarian groups, union leaders, and rank-and-file unionists take positions on this," Baca said. "Everything in the past shows that any anti-immigration law is also antilabor and anti-other oppressed ethnic groups."

"Things like the door-to-door survey, the Manzo prosecution, and the Eilberg bill can be stopped," Baca concluded.

"If we get the word out about what they really are."

'L.A. Times' joins chorus against 'illegals'

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—"L.A. To Have Million 'Illegals' by '81 at Present Rate—Police Study Calls Peaceful Image False."

"Illegal Aliens Blamed for Increasing Crime—Officers Compile Data on Gangs of Transient Burglars."

Those were the headlines on two prominently featured articles in the January 30 *Los Angeles Times*.

"As many as 50 Mexican illegal aliens are burglarizing homes from Glendora to Malibu at any moment of any day, officials say," began the lead paragraph on one article.

If that is intended as statistical fact, by now there would be nothing left to burglarize.

And that is just one of the stupidities in the two articles.

But, stupidity aside, the articles are ominous.

Ever since the U.S. economy began to falter in the early 1970s, there has been a mounting campaign to rest the blame for joblessness on undocumented Mexican immigrants.

Increasingly widespread deportations have been matched by a rising barrage of media propaganda against "illegals."

Throughout the Southwest and in other parts of the country, the media have given heavy play to stories purporting to show how hordes of "illegal" Mexicans are stealing American jobs, burglarizing homes, padding welfare roles, and spreading infectious diseases.

Much of this racist filth has been planted in the media by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, *la migra*.

The INS has two objectives in fueling the vicious propaganda. One is to increase its budget appropriation. The other is to promote pending congressional legislation making it a crime to "knowingly" hire undocumented workers.

What is significant about the *Los Angeles Times* articles is that the *Times* has taken a more sober approach to the issue and has not joined

in the flagrant efforts to whip up antialien hysteria.

Until the present articles.

Equally significant and dangerous is that the spread in the *Times* is based on a "briefing paper" prepared by a previously unknown "Illegal Alien Committee" of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The paper's other source was a so-called profile of "illegal" burglars compiled by the county sheriff's office.

For the past few years the LAPD has tended to stay away from this issue. Since 1969 the department has had a policy of not arresting people for violation of immigration laws, leaving that to *la migra*. LAPD Chief Edward Davis says he is not in favor of ending that policy, but that remains to be seen.

Essential to the LAPD report is that just as *la migra* needs more agents, so Los Angeles needs more cops to deal with the recently discovered "crime wave."

The string of assertions provided as

proof is so absurd it would be almost laughable—if the implications weren't so ominous.

How about facts and figures?

To compile the report in the face of an admitted "lack of data on the impact of illegal aliens on crime," the police simply passed a questionnaire around the department.

On the basis of the opinions of those who responded they were able to come up with the following:

"It is estimated . . . that illegal aliens commit 50% of all pickpockets, 30% of all hit-and-run accidents, 25% to 30% of all shoplifts, 20% to 25% of all burglaries . . . etc., etc."

And what percentage of cops go on to become statisticians?

The report, it must be said, does not assert that all undocumented workers come to Los Angeles to join a burglary ring.

"The primary incentive for aliens to illegally enter this country," the report concedes, "is employment. This incentive must be eliminated by federal legislation prohibiting employment of illegal aliens."

The desperate hope of finding a job is, of course, the true reason why Mexican workers come to the United States.

And that's not easy. According to the INS figures, less than 30 percent of those picked up in 1975 had jobs.

The biggest problem, though, says the LAPD, is that there is no "adequate deterrent to illegal aliens because the chance of apprehension is so remote."

In fact, the chances of being picked up by *la migra* are much less remote than the report suggests.

According to INS figures, in 1975 immigration officers arrested 687,983 undocumented residents living in the Southwest. The INS estimates that 1,500 people are deported each month from Los Angeles alone.

Whatever long-term benefits the INS and Los Angeles police hope to reap, the *Times*'s blast against "illegals" is an immediate boon to the city's employers. To them the new scare campaign will make it just that much easier to sweat their undocumented workers and hold them in submission.



Undocumented workers being held in custody by 'la migra'

Democrats press antilabor offensive

S.F. unions face debate on political action

By Nat Weinstein

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco capitalist class with its two political parties in the lead continues its relentless war on this city's working people. On January 17 the Civil Service Commission formally approved a new pay formula for 11,500 city employees. The new formula is based on Proposition D, which was approved by San Francisco voters last November.

The new setup will gradually reduce real wages and benefits for years to come. This is to be done by establishing as a guide for wage rates here the average wages paid for equivalent jobs in a Bay Area group of ten cities and five counties, where rates are considerably lower.

Wages here are not to be immediately cut, but will be frozen until the average in the guideline area catches up.

In contrast, the new pay formula also provides for steep salary increases—as high as 36 percent—for 9,500 other city employees. These big increases will favor bureaucrats in the \$22,000 to \$57,000 per year range.

Although the San Francisco Board of Supervisors must still act on the Civil Service Commission pay formula, no significant change is expected.

On the same day, the board of supervisors voted to put another charter amendment on the ballot in the next election. It would similarly reduce wages and benefits of Municipal Railway (Muni—the city's surface transit system) employees.

All the attacks have been carried out under the

Nat Weinstein is a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers party and an activist in Painters Union Local 4 in San Francisco.

now-familiar theme—brayed by the chorus of boss-controlled news media—that cuts in wages and social services are necessary to prevent further tax increases.

The real target of the anti-city-worker offensive is the living standard of all San Francisco working people. This will become even clearer this spring when carpenters, painters, and other construction union contracts come up for renegotiation.

Painters union officials, for example, have already begun to prepare their membership for major concessions to the employers.

Political offensive

The political character of the antilabor offensive has been acknowledged only in the narrowest electoralist sense by top labor officials here.

The key role of the Democratic party in this offensive has only been alluded to. Union officials take great care to avoid going beyond the conclusion that the Democratic party in San Francisco has come under the more or less episodic influence of some bad elements.

Not willing to acknowledge the fundamental proemployer nature of the Democratic party—no different from the Republicans—an elaborate maneuver was embarked upon last fall to “recapture” labor influence over the Democratic party.

That maneuver centered on labor support for Proposition T, which was also approved in the last election. Proposition T provided for dividing the city into eleven districts and electing city supervisors by district. Supervisors were previously elected at large.

The union chiefs argue that with supervisor races



Militant/Eric Simpson

Defeat of city workers' strike last spring and continuing antiunion drive by Democratic administration are prompting some unionists to reevaluate 'alliance' with Democratic party.

taking place district by district, labor can concentrate its forces to defeat the “greater evil” candidate. This perspective of playing a “spoiler” role has always been part of their strategy of coalition politics with the capitalist parties. It reflects their new desperation, but it doesn't explain how they hope to improve their position.

An explanation closer to the mark is the opportunity district elections give to wheel and deal with the diverse community-based groups in the Democratic party orbit that have clamored for years for district election of supervisors.

For most of these groups only the shallowest aspirations and goals are involved, usually the advancement of a new crop of Democratic officials. Some of these “community” groups in white neighborhoods, dominated by local business interests, have an openly reactionary and even racist thrust.

The labor bureaucracy's aim seems to be to shake up the old lineups in the capitalist parties in hopes that they will emerge with greater leverage in a new coalition with assorted capitalist politicians.

Labor-minority alliance

But there is another and more important dimension to this picture—the role and concerns of Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed minorities.

There has long been a strong sentiment in these communities for district elections. Oppressed minorities see the creation of several districts where they are concentrated as a means of winning political representation not otherwise possible.

Coalitions including representatives from the oppressed minorities had unsuccessfully campaigned for district election of supervisors in two previous elections. Top labor bureaucrats then opposed this change.

The shift by the union bureaucracy can open the way to furthering an alliance between labor and the oppressed minorities, if union activists with a broader perspective work to advance such an alliance.

Labor and the oppressed minorities are natural allies in the fight for jobs, for child care and other social services, and against discrimination and the whole range of racial injustices.

However, what the union bureaucracy appears to be angling for is a bloc with procapitalist groups whose every instinct and interest would oppose

militant defense of labor and minority rights. Thus the perspective of a class-collaborationist coalition clashes with that of a principled alliance between unions and the Black, Chicano, and other minority communities.

But the labor bureaucracy does not have a free hand by any means. It will be increasingly harder to contain the labor movement within this class-collaborationist quagmire. Economic pressures upon the capitalists leave little room for concessions to labor or its allies.

On the contrary, further thrusts by the bosses are inevitable. It's not likely that San Francisco employers, having gone to such lengths to weaken the unions, will stop in mid-course.

Thus any new lineup within the capitalist parties is bound to be wracked by new crises and conflicts before the dust kicked up by district elections has settled.

Labor candidates?

Some labor officials are hinting at another variant—“independent” labor candidates. Their talk runs toward a mix of nominally independent candidates from labor's ranks together with endorsement of various capitalist politicians, including phony “community” candidates.

Whatever pseudo-independent tactics are the final result, this desperate course of the labor officialdom is unwittingly undermining the basis for continued class collaboration.

Talk of fielding labor candidates—whatever the real intentions of the bureaucrats involved—legitimizes discussion over labor's basic political strategy. It is a tacit admission of the bankruptcy of “coalition politics” with the employers.

In every local union, in every forum of workers or the oppressed minorities, the issue of a genuine break with the capitalist parties will enter into the discussion. Advocates of independent working-class political action will actively seek to influence the outcome of such a discussion. Parallel developments are bound to arise in the Black and Chicano communities.

District elections may result in the election of more Black and Latino Democrats and Republicans. That would solve nothing. But it could allow the real issue—Independent political organization of the working class and the oppressed minorities—to stand out in bolder relief.

officials termed Hofheinz's role outright union busting and called on the local AFL-CIO not to support him for reelection. How far these union bureaucrats will go in opposing city Democrats remains to be seen.

One transit worker told the *Militant*: “The present leadership is always telling us, ‘We did our best; we can't do any better; we recommend you accept this offer’—and it's always what the company offers. The leadership won't stand up to the company. If we had a strong leadership the members would be stronger.”

Commenting on the need for more direct control of the union by the members he said, “If we have a strong, educated membership we can rely on our own judgment. I'm optimistic, I think we can talk to the brothers and sisters and do what we need to do.”

Houston bus drivers end strike

By Jana Pellusch

HOUSTON—An eight-week-old strike of Houston bus drivers ended January 17 when members of Transport Workers Union Local 260, under intense pressure from the city and union officials, finally voted to accept the proposed agreement.

It was the longest strike in the fifty-three-year history of the Houston transit system.

Both union officials and Houston's Mayor Fred Hofheinz termed the agreement a “victory.” How such a double-sided victory was possible they did not explain. In fact, the terms of the new contract make it clear that it certainly was no victory for the union ranks.

The contract contained essentially the same meager wage package the company offered before the strike

began, and instead of running for two years bus drivers will be working under it for thirty-four months.

The union also surrendered the November 3 contract expiration date, which many members considered crucial. It enabled transit workers to strike during the Christmas shopping season when the big chain stores need public transportation the most for their profits.

Mayor Hofheinz, elected with union support as a liberal Democrat, was far from subtle in his efforts to turn public sentiment against the strikers. Trying to evoke images of the city being crippled by greedy public employees, the mayor said he did not “intend to see Houston become another New York City.”

In the heat of the strike TWU

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

FEBRUARY 25, 1977

Following mass protests 1,200 left-wing activists rounded up by Spanish police

By Gerry Foley

The response of the Communist and Socialist parties to the crisis touched off by the murder of leftist figures in Madrid January 24-25 was to rally behind the Suárez government. They took the occasion to demonstrate their "civic responsibility" by holding back mass protests against the regime's connivance with the rightist killers. As a result the CP and SP leaders have opened the way for a further offensive by the government against the workers movement.

According to reports in the February 1 and 2 issues of the Paris Trotskyist daily *Rouge*, about 1,200 left-wing activists have been hauled in by the police for questioning, with some 300 being placed under formal arrest. Those arrested were primarily members of the smaller organizations that claim to stand to the left of the Communist party. They included members of: the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International); the Partido del Trabajo (PT—Labor party); the PT's youth organization, Communist Young Guard; the Organización Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores (ORT—Revolutionary Workers Organization); the Movimiento Comunista (MC—Communist Movement); the Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota (FRAP—Revolutionary, Antifascist and Patriotic Front); the Organización de la Izquierda Comunista de España (OICE—Organization of the Communist Left of Spain); and the Confederación Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT—National Confederation of Workers, the anarchist federation).

In the February 3 *Christian Science Monitor*, Joe Gandelman reported:

"The government fears Maoists,

Trotskyites, and anarchists will not accept the 'tacit truce' against illegal demonstrations that the opposition, including the Communist Party, has agreed to."

Since the government needed the help of the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties to keep the workers quiet, it had no reason to strike immediately at them. At the same time, it has an interest in making sure no other organized forces move in to provide leadership to the masses of workers and youth who obviously want to fight back. But it was also logical for the government to begin a wave of repression by striking first at more isolated targets.

The Spanish Communist party leadership, as well as the other reformist leaders, realized they were endangered by the arrests of members of the smaller left organizations. The CP issued a communiqué defending the organizations under attack.

'Mainly against leftists'

The government claimed it was moving against all elements, both left and right, that could be prone to terrorism. But the facts were so obvious that not even the capitalist press could lend much credence to the regime's pretenses.

Gandelman reported: "The nationwide crackdown on 'all extremists' ordered by Spanish Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez has so far been directed mainly against leftists and foreigners while known ultra-rightists have gone free."

In the February 1 *New York Times*, James M. Markham wrote: "The government was reported planning to expel three Italians wanted for right-wing violence at home, but there were hardly any reports of arrests or other action against Spanish extreme rightists."



Government crackdown followed massive strike wave in response to murder of five labor lawyers by rightist gunmen. Shown here are some of more than 100,000 demonstrators at January 26 Madrid funeral procession.

The reformist leaders reportedly began to express doubts that their support of the government at a difficult moment had been properly appreciated. In the February 2 *Le Monde*, Marcel Niedergang cited a communiqué by the Federation of Socialist Parties, a grouping of Social Democratic parties based on the various nationalities and regions. The communiqué said that the actions of the police "were in total contradiction to the responsible way in which all the trade-union and political organizations of the democratic left had conducted themselves during that tragic week."

The reformists expressed fear that the rightist killings could create an atmosphere of instability, provoking the military to establish a "strong government." The way to prevent this, they said, was to strengthen the authority of the "liberalizing" government by calling on the workers to trust it.

'Responsible' opposition

On January 26, the "democratic opposition," including the SP, the CP, and the bourgeois Partido Popular of José María Areilza, a leading politician under Franco, issued a communiqué that said: "We appeal to the civic sense of the political and social forces of all the peoples of Spain to assure that any type of street action is avoided."

At the funeral January 26 of the CP labor lawyers murdered by rightist gunmen, CP leader Simón Sánchez Montero called for unity of all Spaniards by shouting the traditional slogan of the right: "Long Live Spain!"

By curbing a militant mass response to the murders, the reformist parties assured that such terrorist actions would do the maximum damage to the workers movement. For example, a dispatch in the January 30 issue of the London *Observer* carried the headline: "Spanish Left goes back underground." Robin Smyth reported: "The technically illegal offices of the left-

wing opposition parties received phone calls from the police warning them to close for their own safety." They closed.

The calls by the CP and SP to the workers not to mobilize and to stay off the streets helped intensify the terror. The masses were left dispersed in the face of seemingly mysterious and threatening forces. The menace of rightist terrorism was not met with a sustained and powerful counterattack.

A useful lesson

In the absence of an organized and ongoing mass response, the government feels free to let the rightist killers continue their terrorist course. At the same time, the government has regained the initiative it lost in the face of the mass mobilizations that followed Franco's death.

The capitalist press noted the effect of the government's actions. For example, London *Sunday Times* correspondent Stephen Aris reported January 30:

The Government still insists that justice will be firm and even-handed, that extremists of both left and right will be hunted down. But the fact that it has been forced to reintroduce some of the harshest provisions of the Franco anti-terrorist laws, indicates just how far the pendulum has swung in the past week.

The government's ability to hold the initiative still depends on the CP and SP leaders keeping the great masses of workers quiet. But there are signs that the experience of recent weeks has shaken these leaders' credibility. For example, the Madrid Coordinating Committee of the SP called on the party leadership to "stop negotiating with the government under the present conditions."

Moreover, in the spontaneous strikes and demonstrations that followed the murders, the workers had a chance to feel their own potential power. The government may find that it used up some of the authority of the reformists too early, giving the workers a useful lesson instead of dealing them a decisive defeat.



Santiago Carrillo, (center), CP general secretary, at January 26 funeral. CP responded to killings by trying to 'assure that any type of street action is avoided.'

Charter 77: nearly 500 have signed this petition for

[In the first week of January, Czech and Slovak defenders of civil liberties attempted to deliver a petition to the Prague government calling for respect for the democratic rights guaranteed by the Czechoslovak constitution. But the delegation was reportedly driven away by police, who also harassed its members. However, three copies of this petition, called Charter 77, were gotten to Western correspondents. Despite a campaign of government harassment against the nearly 300 people who originally signed Charter 77, another 200 names have been added to the petition since it first became known in Czechoslovakia. The full text, which follows, was published in English translation in the January 31 issue of *New Leader*, a magazine published in New York. Subheads have been added by the *Militant*.]

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Law No. 120 of the Czechoslovak Collection of Laws, published October 13, 1976, includes the text of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, both signed in behalf of our Republic in 1968 and confirmed at the 1975 Helsinki Conference. These pacts went into effect in our country on March 23, 1976; since that date our citizens have had the right, and the State has had the duty, to abide by them.

The freedoms guaranteed to individuals by the two documents are important assets of civilization. They have been the goals of campaigns by many progressive people in the past, and their enactment can significantly contribute to a humane development of our society. We welcome the fact that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has agreed to enter into these covenants.

Their publication, however, is at the same time an urgent reminder of the many fundamental human rights that, regrettably, exist in our country only on paper. The right of free expression guaranteed by Article 19 of the first

pact, for example, is quite illusory. Tens of thousands of citizens have been prevented from working in their professions for the sole reason that their views differ from the official ones. They have been the frequent targets of various forms of discrimination and chicanery on the part of the authorities or social organizations; they have been denied any opportunity to defend themselves and are practically the victims of apartheid. Hundreds of thousands of other citizens have been denied the "freedom from fear" cited in the Preamble to the first pact; they live in constant peril of losing their jobs or other benefits if they express their opinions.

Contrary to Article 13 of the second pact, guaranteeing the right to education, many young people are prevented from pursuing higher education because of their views or even because of their parents' views. Countless citizens worry that if they declare their convictions, they themselves or their children will be deprived of an education.

Exercising the right to "seek, receive and impart information regardless of frontiers and of whether it is oral, written or printed," or "imparted through art,"—Point 2, Article 13 of the first pact—can result in persecution not only outside the court but also inside. Frequently this occurs under the pretext of a criminal indictment (as evidenced, among other instances, by the recent trial of young musicians).

Freedom of speech

Freedom of speech is suppressed by the government's management of all mass media, including the publishing and cultural institutions. No political, philosophical, scientific, or artistic work that deviates in the slightest from the narrow framework of official ideology or esthetics is permitted to be produced. Public criticism of social conditions is prohibited. Public defense against false and defamatory charges by official propaganda organs is impossible, despite the legal protection against attacks on one's reputation and honor unequivocally afforded by



Prague rally in support of socialist democracy, 1968. Charter 77 shows this struggle is picking up steam nine years later.

Article 17 of the first pact. False accusations cannot be refuted, and it is futile to attempt rectification or to seek legal redress. Open discussion of intellectual and cultural matters is out of the question. Many scientific and cultural workers, as well as other citizens, have been discriminated against simply because some years ago they legally published or openly articulated views condemned by the current political power.

Religious freedom, emphatically guaranteed by Article 18 of the first pact, is systematically curbed with a despotic arbitrariness: Limits are imposed on the activities of priests, who are constantly threatened with the revocation of government permission to perform their function; persons who manifest their religious faith either by word or action lose their jobs or are made to suffer other repressions; religious instruction in schools is suppressed, et cetera.

A whole range of civil rights is severely restricted or completely suppressed by the effective method of subordinating all institutions and organizations in the State to the political directives of the ruling Party's apparatuses and the pronouncements of highly influential individuals. Neither the Constitution of the CSSR nor any of the country's other legal procedures regulate the contents, form or application of such pronouncements, which are frequently issued orally, unbeknown to and beyond the control of the average citizen. Their authors are responsible only to themselves and their own hierarchy, yet they have a decisive influence on the activity of the legislature as well as executive bodies of the State administration, on the courts, trade unions, social organizations, other political parties, business, factories, schools and similar installations, and their orders take precedence over the laws.

Mideast: mass struggles loom after Lebanon defeat

By David Frankel

Once again, as so often in the past, the prospects for a Middle East peace settlement are being discussed both in the mass media and among heads of state around the world.

The optimistic statements coming out of Arab capitals and Washington have been based in no small part on the success of the Syrian intervention in Lebanon. The defeat of the Lebanese left and the Palestinian liberation movement in the civil war there represents the biggest victory for reaction and imperialism in the Middle East since the defeat of the Palestinians in Jordan in September 1970.

More than two months have passed since the Syrian army completed its takeover of Beirut November 15, two months in which a reactionary stranglehold has tightened over the political life of the country. Lebanese and foreign banks gave their verdict on the situation January 17, when they announced that they were resuming full activity in Lebanon.

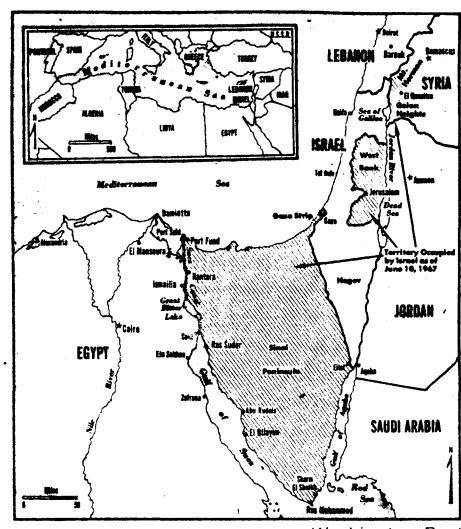
At first, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad used the 30,000-strong army of occupation that is still stationed in Lebanon to consolidate his victory.

Now, however, Assad is relying more on his junior partners in the Lebanese government—President Elias Sarkis

and Prime Minister Selim al-Hoss. At the end of December the Lebanese cabinet was empowered to rule by decree for six months, and the government ushered in the new year with the news that censorship was being imposed.

Censorship

Heading the censorship operation is Colonel Antoine Dahdah, who is related by marriage to former President Suleiman Franjeh and who shares his extreme right-wing views. The colonel makes no secret of his intention to



Washington Post

muze the "subversive" publications of the Lebanese left and the Palestinian liberation movement.

It is clear that under the screen of censorship, Assad is preparing to break the power of the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon. The regular forces under the command of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) are being pulled out of Lebanon as a result of pressure from the Syrian "peacekeeping force" and the Maronite rightists. Palestinian forces are also under strong pressure to hand in their heavy weapons.

The fact that Assad and his allies are proceeding gradually should not give rise to any illusions about their ultimate purpose. In this regard, it should be recalled that the Palestinian guerrillas were not finally driven out of Jordan until July 1971, ten months after the short but bloody civil war of September 1970.

While Assad's forces have begun by concentrating their fire on the smaller and more exposed groups on the fringes of the PLO, their ultimate target is the Palestinian liberation movement as a whole.

Ihsan Hijazi gave a further indication of the noose tightening around the Palestinians in Lebanon in a January 20 dispatch from Beirut in the London *Financial Times*. Hijazi reported a

prediction of the "usually well-informed" Beirut daily *Al Bayraq* that "movement of Palestinians in and out of their camps in various parts of the country will be restricted by special permits which will be checked by the Arab League force and Lebanese security authorities."

Lebanon was the last country bordering Israel in which the Palestinian liberation movement had not been subjected to tight government control and effectively destroyed as an open mass movement. It is therefore hardly surprising that the defeat in Lebanon has provoked considerable discussion within and around the Palestinian liberation movement about the causes of the defeat and about what the future holds in store.

Of course, the first thing that must be said about the outcome of the Lebanese civil war is that the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition fought against very heavy odds. On the military front, the Maronite rightists were aided by Israel and the Syrian army. At one point, there was even threat of direct American intervention.

On the political level, the Palestinians and their allies were opposed by virtually all of the regimes in the Arab world. The Iraqi government was the exception; it sought to use the Lebanese events as a weapon against its

political rights that is shaking Czechoslovakia

If some organizations or citizens, in the interpretation of their rights and duties, become involved in a conflict with the directives, they cannot turn to a neutral authority, for none exists. Consequently, the right of assembly and the prohibition of its restraint, stemming from Articles 21 and 22 of the first pact; the right to participate in public affairs, in Article 25; and the right to equality before the law, in Article 26—all have been seriously curtailed. These conditions prevent working people from freely establishing labor and other organizations for the protection of their economic and social interests, and from freely using their right to strike as provided in Point 1, Article 8 of the second pact.

Illegal intimidation

Other civil rights, including the virtual banning of "willful interference with private life, the family, home and correspondence" in Article 17 of the first pact, are gravely circumscribed by the fact that the Interior Ministry employs various practices to control the daily existence of citizens—such as telephone tapping and the surveillance of private homes, watching mail, shadowing individuals, searching apartments, and recruiting a network of informers from the ranks of the population (often by illegal intimidation or, sometimes, promises), etc. The Ministry frequently interferes in the decisions of employers, inspires discrimination by authorities and organizations, influences the organs of justice, and even supervises the propaganda campaigns of the mass media. This activity is not regulated by laws, it is covert, so the citizen is unable to protect himself against it.

In the cases of politically motivated persecution, the organs of interrogation and justice violate the rights of the defendants and their counsel, contrary to Article 14 of the first pact as well as Czechoslovakia's own laws. People thus sentenced to jail are being treated in a manner that violates their human dignity, impairs their health, and attempts to break them morally.

long-standing Syrian rival.

Nor was any help forthcoming from Moscow or Peking. The Kremlin, which was afraid of upsetting its cordial relations with Assad, refused to issue even the mildest public criticism of his invasion of Lebanon until August—more than two months after it took place. Even Sadat put up a better front than that.

As for the Maoist regime in China, it never objected to the Syrian invasion at all. Hsinhua, the official Chinese news agency, hailed the agreement reached at the Riyadh summit conference giving the Syrian occupation of Lebanon a pan-Arab cover.

In its October 23 issue, Hsinhua said of the Riyadh summit: "This is an important step toward Arab unity and a heavy blow at the two superpowers, Soviet social-imperialism in particular, which have been creating confusion in Lebanon."

What Hsinhua called "an important step toward Arab unity" was based on the fact that the Arab regimes saw the defeat of the Palestinians in Lebanon as a prerequisite for successful negotiations with Israel. And from the point of view of the Arab capitalists, such negotiations are essential.

Arab regimes

Revolutionary socialists have always pointed out that the bourgeois regimes in the Arab world are incapable of carrying out the fight against Israeli aggression and for the rights of

Point 2, Article 12 of the first pact, guaranteeing the right to freely leave one's country, is generally violated. Under the pretext of "protecting the State security" contained in Point 3, departure is tied to various illegal conditions. Just as arbitrary are the procedures for issuing visas to foreign nationals, many of whom are prevented from visiting Czechoslovakia because they had some official or friendly contact with persons who had been discriminated against in our country.

Some citizens—privately at their places of work, or through the media abroad (the only public forum available to them)—have drawn attention to these systematic violations of human rights and democratic freedoms and have demanded a remedy in specific cases. But they have received no response, or have themselves become the objects of investigation.

The responsibility for the preservation of civil rights naturally rests with the State power. But not on it alone. Every individual bears a share of responsibility for the general conditions in the country, and therefore also for compliance with the enacted pacts, which are as binding for the people as for the government.

The feeling of this coresponsibility, the belief in the value of civic engagement and the readiness to be engaged, together with the need to seek a new and more effective expression, gave us the idea of creating Charter 77, whose existence we publicly announce.

Free, informal & open

Charter 77 is a free and informal and open association of people of various convictions, religions and professions, linked by the desire to work individually and collectively for respect for human and civil rights in Czechoslovakia and the world—the rights provided for in the enacted international pacts, in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and in numerous other international documents against wars, violence and social and mental oppression. It represents a general declaration of human rights.

Charter 77 is founded on the concepts of solidarity and friendship of people who share a concern for the fate of ideals to which they have linked their lives and work.

Charter 77 is not an organization; it has no statutes, permanent organs or registered membership. Everyone who agrees with its idea and participates in its work and supports it, belongs to it.

Serve the common interest

Charter 77 is not intended to be a basis for opposition political activity. Its desire is to serve the common interest, as have numerous similar organizations of civic initiative East and West. It has no intention of initiating its own programs for political or social reforms or changes, but it wants to lead in the sphere of its activity by means of a constructive dialogue with the political and State authorities—and particularly by drawing attention to various specific violations of civil and human rights, by preparing their documentation, by suggesting solutions, by submitting various more general proposals aimed at furthering these rights and their

guarantees, by acting as a mediator in the event of conflict situations which might result in wrongdoings, etc.

By its symbolic name, Charter 77 stresses that it has been established on the threshold of what has been declared the year of political prisoners, in the course of which a meeting in Belgrade is to review the progress—or lack of it—achieved since the Helsinki Conference.

As signatories of this declaration, we designate Dr. Jan Patocka, Dr. Vaclav Havel and Professor Jiri Hajek to act as spokesmen for Charter 77. These spokesmen are authorized to represent Charter 77 before the State and other organizations, as well as before the public at home and throughout the world, and they guarantee the authenticity of its documents by their signatures. In us and other citizens who will join Charter 77, they will find their collaborators who will participate in the necessary negotiations, who will accept partial tasks, and will share the entire responsibility.

We trust that Charter 77 will contribute to making it possible for all citizens of Czechoslovakia to live and work as free people.



Soviet tanks invading Czechoslovakia in 1968, abolishing most democratic rights won by masses during Dubcek regime.

the Palestinian people. Despite the militant rhetoric of many of these governments, they are much more fearful of the mobilization of their own people than they are of Israel.

The PLO itself was set up by the Arab regimes in 1964 as a means of channeling and controlling the discontent and militancy of the Palestinians. The biggest problem facing those Palestinians who tried to organize an independent struggle against Israel in this period was repression from the Arab regimes, including that of Nasser in Egypt.

But after the debacle of the Arab armies in the June 1967 Middle East war, tens of thousands of Palestinians lost confidence in the Arab regimes. The small Palestinian guerrilla groups mushroomed into a mass movement and broke away from the control of the Arab governments.

The PLO leadership never attempted to do any more than to organize the Palestinian masses to struggle for their national rights. But by doing that, they directly threatened the regimes in Jordan and in Lebanon, and put heavy pressure on those in Egypt, Syria, and in Arab countries further removed from Israel.

Thus, the national liberation struggle of the Palestinian people has become central to the class struggle throughout the Middle East. To the extent that the PLO attempted to mobilize the Arab masses to struggle for the liberation of Palestine, it was

bound to come into conflict not only with imperialism, but also with the Arab regimes.

Unfortunately, in attempting to stave off a confrontation with the Arab regimes, the PLO leadership has followed policies that have often resulted in the political subordination of the Palestinian liberation movement to these same governments. Such policies were one factor in the defeat in Lebanon.

Role of PLO leadership

Although the civil war in Lebanon began with the machine-gunning of a busload of Palestinians returning from a rally organized by the Rejection Front¹ in April 1975, the PLO leadership attempted to remain aloof from the confrontation. In an interview with *Intercontinental Press* last year, a Lebanese Trotskyist described how, during the so-called hotel battle in Beirut's commercial district in December 1975, "the Fateh² forces withdrew from the fighting and stopped giving ammunition to the left and other armed groups on the side of the nationalist forces" (*Intercontinental Press*, July 26, 1976, p. 1135).

1. The Rejection Front includes those forces in the Palestinian movement that are opposed to any negotiations with Israel.

2. Fateh is the largest Palestinian guerrilla organization and the main force inside the PLO.

The attempt to maintain neutrality in the civil war was clearly doomed from the beginning. A direct military victory by the rightist forces could only have resulted in a massacre directed against the Palestinian population. Had the PLO ignored the demands of the Arab regimes, the rightists might have been defeated before Assad could organize his intervention.

Just as in Jordan five years earlier, the policy of nonintervention in the "internal affairs" of the various Arab countries helped to prepare a cruel defeat for the Palestinian movement.

Moreover, this policy of nonintervention has always been applied with a particular slant. PLO leaders have frequently made statements in support of capitalist rulers that they happen to be on good terms with. Immediately after the October 1973 war, for example, both Sadat and Assad were hailed. When Sadat concluded a separate deal with the Israeli regime through the mediation of Henry Kissinger, he was condemned and Assad was held up as a model of Arab determination and militancy. Then, in May 1976, when the PLO was being pressed by Assad's troops in Lebanon, another reversal took place and attacks on the Egyptian regime were halted.

In practice, the policy of nonintervention boils down to an attempt to assure the Arab regimes that the PLO will behave "responsibly," and not support or encourage any anticapitalist

Continued on next page

...Mideast

Continued from preceding page

ist revolutionary activity. The program advanced by the PLO leaders for Lebanon was particularly revealing from this point of view.

Procapitalist program

In the February 8, 1976, issue of the PLO newspaper *Falastin Al-Thawra*, 'Abd Kiwan argued that "the conflict [in Lebanon] is between a capitalist



Arab protest on West Bank

economic system and a decaying political framework inherited from forms of production that predate capitalism" (quoted in *Swasia*, March 26, 1976).

As a theoretical argument this is nonsense, since Lebanon's discriminatory political system was imposed by French imperialism—hardly a precapitalist phenomenon! But what was significant was Kiwan's political conclusion. As he saw it:

The terrible battle that took place on the soil of Lebanon [this was written during a period of cease-fire] is the fertile mother that will give birth to a new offspring—a new Lebanon established on the basis of a bourgeois democracy and the apparatus of a modern state that will aid and facilitate the growth and flowering of the Lebanese economy.

According to this reasoning, all of Lebanon's pressing social problems could be solved within the confines of capitalism by simply carrying out a reform of the country's governmental apparatus and ending the privileged position of the Maronite community.

But such assurances to the Arab regimes have done nothing to help the PLO. The PLO will remain a subversive force in the eyes of the Arab capitalists despite its precapitalist social program as long as it attempts to mobilize the masses in the struggle for a free Arab Palestine.

With the defeat of the mass movement in Lebanon, the American imperialists and their Arab clients hope that they will be able to put enough pressure on the PLO to force it to abandon the struggle for a unitary Palestinian state. The alternatives before the Palestinian liberation movement are increasingly being posed as either capitulation to the Arab regimes or a return to individual terrorism.

In fact, there is a third alternative—that of patient education and organization to prepare for new mass upsurges. The defeat in Lebanon and the attempts to wring concessions out of the Palestinian liberation movement (and the Arab states as well) through negotiations are only one side of the situation in the Middle East today. Those who look only at these factors leave out the deepening radicalization

of the Palestinian masses inside Israel and in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Also left out is the role of the masses elsewhere in the Arab world.

West Bank protests

During 1976, the Palestinians living under Israeli rule took to the streets in the most important mass struggles there since the establishment of the Israeli state. Tens of thousands of Palestinian workers went on strike to protest the expropriation of Arab land in the Galilee, while in the West Bank

barely a week went by without marches, strikes, and other demonstrations.

These mass struggles dealt a stronger blow to the Israeli state than all of the guerrilla actions by small groups over the last ten years. They drew the attention of the entire world, and in this case—in contrast to the terrorist operations carried out in the name of the Palestinian movement in the past—the onus for the violence and repression was placed squarely on the Israeli regime by world opinion.

The powerful protests against price increases in Egypt showed once again that although the mass movement in Lebanon has been beaten back, the imperialists are a long way from stabilizing the Middle East.

Sadat was able to contain the mass movement because of his rapid retreat, but the effects of the workers' rebellion are far from over. To begin with, Sadat's policy of reliance on American imperialism has been dealt a blow that will affect his political plans as well as his economic calculations.

"So far the American connection has just not brought any visible results as far as the average Egyptian is concerned," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner pointed out in a January 20 dispatch.

Roughly a third of the population of the entire Arab world—some 40 million people—live in Egypt. Cairo and Alexandria alone, with some ten million people between them, more than equal the population of Syria.

A continuation of the mass opposition to Sadat could threaten American access to the biggest market in the Middle East and quickly wash away the effect of the defeat in Lebanon. And that is exactly what Washington is afraid may happen.

Tanner, referring to the mass upsurge in a January 24 dispatch from Cairo, said of it: "This is a precedent, well-informed Egyptians fear. They say that the urban masses, which have been sinking into ever-greater poverty, have had their taste of power and will use it again to hold the regime to its promises."

Or, he might have added, to sweep it away altogether.

World news notes

Soviet dissident arrested

Aleksandr Ginzburg, a member of the Committee to Supervise Compliance with the Helsinki Accords, was arrested in Moscow February 3. The action marks a new stage in the Kremlin rulers' attacks against members of this group, which gathers evidence of Soviet violations of the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki agreements.

Ginzburg, who served a five-year term following his arrest in 1967 for exposing political repression, is a special target of the political police. His arrest came one day after he publicly announced that he also heads a fund, established by exiled Soviet writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, to provide financial assistance to political prisoners and their families.

Since it was set up in 1974, Ginzburg reported, the fund has distributed 270,000 rubles (about US\$360,000) to some 1,350 political prisoners. He said that about three-quarters of the money came from Solzhenitsyn's book royalties, the remainder having been raised from supporters of the fund in the Soviet Union.

As possession of foreign currency is illegal under Soviet law, Ginzburg made clear that all funds collected for the prisoners are in rubles.

At an earlier news conference, held in Moscow January 5, he reported that the police had made preparations for a frame-up by planting \$100 in American currency and 1,000 West German marks in his apartment.

This police work was followed up, the day before his arrest, with an article in *Literaturnaia Gazeta* charging him with illegal currency speculation.

Dissidents quickly called a news conference at Ginzburg's apartment, where they informed foreign correspondents that the author of the article was known by several of them to be a prison-camp informer and police provocateur.

José Páez moved from Córdoba jail

José Francisco Páez, a central leader of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), has been moved from the prison in Córdoba to one in Sierra Chica, in the province of Buenos Aires.

A bulletin from the PST leadership in exile dated January 20 said that Páez has lost weight and has a broken finger that was never set. In Sierra Chica, moreover, the bulletin reports, "the regime . . . is extremely strict on discipline. Prisoners are punished for the slightest reason by being deprived of visitors." However, medical attention is available at this prison, the food is better, and prisoners have the right to receive mail and visitors—none of which were the case in the Córdoba jail where Páez had been held since January 1976.

Cheap labor in Britain

Wages in Britain are now lower than in any other industrialized country. According to figures compiled by the Swedish Employers' Confederation, labor costs in West Germany were 176% of those in Britain in 1975. In the United States, the figure was 185%; in Sweden, 219%; in France, 128%; and in Italy, 127%. Japanese labor costs were 99% of those in Britain in 1975, but since then labor costs in Britain have even sunk below those in Japan because of the decline of the pound sterling.

However, low labor costs do not give Britain a competitive edge, because they are offset by low productivity. One study in the January issue of *Lloyd's Bank Review* suggested that labor productivity in the United States and Sweden is 50% higher than in Britain. German productivity was estimated to be one-third higher, and French productivity one-quarter higher.

In addition to the fact that British productivity is below that in other imperialist countries, it is also growing at a slower rate. Productivity in Britain rose at an average annual rate of 4.5% in the decade from 1964 to 1974. This compares with 16.4% in Japan, 7.9% in France, and 6.9% in West Germany.

South African police get immunity

The South African government published a bill January 25 that would give police acting in "good faith" immunity from civil or criminal prosecution in cases arising out of mass protests. Under the proposed law, "good faith" would be presumed until the contrary is proved.

A number of civil cases in which Blacks accuse the police of assault and malicious damage to property are in the courts as a result of the brutal suppression of Black protests last year. The new law—which is assured of passage because of the government's parliamentary majority—would solve this problem by making the police immunity retroactive to June 16, 1976, the day mass demonstrations broke out in the African township of Soweto.

One Black newspaper, *The World*, condemned the proposed law as "a shocking reversal of the basic norms of justice," adding that "in too many cases township residents have lost confidence in the police, whose relationship with blacks as a whole has reached an all-time low."

Another bill to strengthen the regime's repressive powers was also published January 25. The Civil Protection Bill would allow the minister of defense to immediately implement a three-month state of emergency in any given area without the formal promulgation currently required.

In addition, the bill would allow for the use of regular troops to put down protests.

'FOR COLORED GIRLS WHO...'

For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow is Enuf by Ntozake Shange. Directed by Oz Scott. Produced by Joseph Papp in New York.

The production of Ntozake Shange's *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide/When the Rainbow is Enuf* is welcomed with open arms.

Colored Girls is a dynamite consciousness-raiser that not only

her out/to know herself/to know you . . . she's been dead so long/ she doesn't know the sound of her own voice."

Colored Girls, which opened on Broadway last September, is based on Shange's book *Natural Disasters and Other Festive Occasions: Prose and Poems*.

It is unlike other Broadway shows. It's not a play; it's a "choreopoem"—a collection of poems spoken to acting, music, and dance.

It's only scenery is a huge red rose at backstage. The only costumes are the simple jersey dresses worn by the cast of seven Black women. The jersey dresses in rainbow colors represent the spectrum of Black womanhood.

Colored Girls is based on the life of the author, but every woman in the audience can identify with many parts or all of it.

The choreopoem opens with poems and songs of Black childhood, like the

rhyme, "rise sally rise/wipe your weepin' eyes." Proceeding to adulthood, a sister tells her heartbreaker goodbye with a hard indictment that ends, "i want you to know this wuz an experiment to see how selfish i cd be . . . if i cd stand not being wanted/when i wanted to be wanted."

A young sister who moves from a suburb to the crowded streets of Harlem cries out about the brutal effect ghetto life has on Black people. She says, "i used to live in the world/but now my world is six blocks in harlem."

Throughout the show I felt as if many of my unexpressable feelings from childhood on had finally been given words.

There are many other poems that give a clear picture of the exploitative conditions Black women face, including rape, abortion, broken dreams, and physical and verbal abuse.

Many of these poems are extremely funny—I think to ease the pain. I laughed and cried at the same time.

The choreopoem concludes with the story of Crystal, whose boyfriend—a jobless Vietnam veteran, Beau Willie Brown—beats her frequently. When she refuses to marry him, he pushes her two children out the window of her slum dwelling. The sound of sniffs and sighs comes from the audience, the other sisters gather around Crystal to console her as she weeps.

The performance ends with a spiritual-like hymn, "a laying on of hands/the holiness of myself released . . . i found god in myself/i loved her/i loved her fiercely."

At that point, I was struck with sadness from being reminded of the hell our mothers, sisters, aunts, and all Black women have had to go through.

But more importantly, "a laying on of hands" said to me we don't have to, and must not, accept the myths of our inferiority that have been fed us from childhood. We can love ourselves, as we are, Black women.

In an interview given to Barbara Lewis for the November 1976 issue of *Essence* magazine, Ntozake Shange said, "We have decided to finally let everybody know that we are people. That is really the very function of racism, to make us think that we don't have the right to be alive. . . . But I'm not going to take it, and I think a whole lot of other people have decided

that they are not going to take it either."

Sumner Jones, however, doesn't think Black women have a special oppression. In the September 25, 1976, issue of the Communist party's *Daily World* he reviewed *Colored Girls* in a fairly positive light. Yet he concluded that "some, mostly white reviewers have attempted to turn this into a statement of Black feminism and have pounced upon it eagerly as proof positive that the movement of petty-bourgeois bra burners did in fact strike a responsive chord in the Black working class community."

Unfortunately, Black women are not exempt from sex oppression. As a matter of fact, we feel it even more so because it's combined with race and class oppression—which amounts to the triple whammy.

Black women, as well as white women, have been fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, child care, preferential hiring to make up for past years of discrimination, and other equal opportunities. The lives of Black women would be very different if these demands were met.

Many Black men who have seen or heard of *Colored Girls* have responded with disfavor because they say it shows "all Black men in a negative light."

But *Colored Girls* is not antimale, it's prowoman. It's the reality of what exists today between men and women, whether one likes it or not.

Some men who are supportive of the women's movement criticize Shange for not directing the anger more toward the ruling class that causes the divisions between men and women.

I think we can expect to see more of that in the future.

But *Colored Girls* is not a political manifesto, it's art. And I think it reflects what Black women are grappling with today.

In my opinion Black women need to see how to deal with the immediate problems that we face, without feeling ashamed or being put down for doing so. *Colored Girls* raises our consciousness and is a necessary prelude to understanding our fight for social change.

Thank you Ntozake Shange.

—Pat Wright



'God's Bits of Wood'

God's Bits of Wood by Ousmane Sembene. Doubleday Anchor, 1970. 360 pp., \$2.95 paper.

In the United States, even among political activists, there is a general ignorance about Africa, its history and its ethnic and linguistic groupings.

This is not at all accidental. There are few popular films that show Africa

Books

as it really is. And it's difficult to find good histories of Africa or the writings of African novelists at the local bookstore.

That being so, *God's Bits of Wood* is a welcome find. It is a translation from French into English.

The novel deals with a post-World War II strike called against a French-owned railroad company by the people of the Bambara and Wolof nationalities who live in part of an area then known as French West Africa. (Today that part of West Africa is incorporated into the countries of Mali and Senegal.)

During and after the Second World War, France's hold on its colonial possessions steadily weakened. There were increasing demands by its subjects for control over their own affairs. In response, France conceded some democratic rights, including the right to form trade unions.

So, from 1944 to 1946 more than 175 new unions were formed. The novel takes place during this time of strong worker militancy.

The story begins with a mass meet-

ing at the union hall to decide whether or not to strike. If they strike, the workers and their families will face both the employers and the administration of the "taubabs"—that is, the white people.

Speakers take the floor to debate. Several years before, a strike against the same company and same colonizers had ended in defeat and deaths.

At a crucial point Tiémko, who will later become a local leader and innovator of the movement, rises to speak.

"We're the ones who do the work," he roars, "the same work the white men do. Why then should they be paid more? Because they are white? . . .

"In what way is a white child better than a black child? In what way is a white worker better than a black worker? They tell us we have the same rights, but it is a lie, nothing but a lie! Only the engines we run tell the truth—and they don't know the difference between a white man and a black. . . . If we want to live decently we must fight."

The meeting chooses to strike.

As the strike gathers momentum the workers face the full strength of the company and the state. In the city of

Thiès, the French turn off the water supply to the workers districts. Colonial troops are used to break up rallies. Priests and token African officials exert all their authority to break the strike. All of this proves useless.

Throughout the story, women play a steadily growing role. The women are soon attending the meetings with full rights to speak, something previously denied them. Later, the women organize a march from Thiès to Dakar.

The novel is much more than the story of a strike. It is the story of the men and women who led, participated in, and were influenced by this movement.

Against the backdrop of the strike, the strengths and weaknesses of the people and their leaders, as well as the roles each play, come to the fore.

The author's skill in contrasting characters' qualities makes not only a good political novel, but also a good piece of literature. Sembene's characters don't appear as knights in proletarian armor, but as human beings who, through their sacrifices and strengths, are able to win an important victory.

—Raul González

London rally condemns frame-up

British sect slanders

veteran revolutionists



JOSEPH HANSEN

Militant/Reba Hansen



GEORGE NOVACK

Militant/Brian Shannon

By Fred Feldman

About 1,150 people attended a rally in London January 14 under the banner "For Workers Democracy, Against Frame-ups and Slanders." The meeting condemned a slander campaign carried on since April 1975 by the leaders of the Workers Revolutionary party (WRP)—a declining British ultraleft sect—against two veteran leaders of the Socialist Workers party, Joseph Hansen and George Novack.

Joseph Hansen joined the revolutionary socialist movement in the United States in 1934. From 1937 to 1940 he served as secretary to Leon Trotsky, the Russian revolutionary leader exiled in 1929 by Joseph Stalin.

Hansen was elected to the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party in April 1940, later becoming a member of the Political Committee. He served as editor of the *Militant* and of the *International Socialist Review* for many years.

At present he is editor of *Intercontinental Press* (IP), a newsweekly covering world events from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

George Novack joined the Trotskyist movement in late 1933. He was already well known for his work in the field of civil liberties and defense of frame-up victims. In the early 1930s he was active in efforts to free union militant Tom Mooney and the "Scottsboro Boys," nine young Blacks convicted on trumped-up rape charges in Alabama.

During Trotsky's exile, Novack played a key role in the fight to win political asylum for him in Mexico.

As secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, he campaigned against Stalin's Moscow Frame-up Trials and was instrumental in the formation of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials.

The commission was headed by the eminent philosopher and educator John Dewey. Its verdict that the charges against Trotsky and other defendants in the Moscow Trials were false dealt a fatal blow to the credibility of the monstrous frame-up.

Novack has written widely in the fields of Marxist philosophy and American history. He edited and contributed to the recent collection *America's Revolutionary Heritage*, published by Pathfinder Press. At present he is an associate editor of the *International Socialist Review*.

Behind the slanders

It is these two figures that the top committee of the WRP, led by Gerry Healy, has labeled "accomplices of the GPU" (the Soviet secret police, now called the KGB).

This charge, concocted by the leaders of the WRP, is part of their response to the decline of the "International Committee of the Fourth Interna-

tional," a rump organization set up by Healy in 1963.

In that year the original International Committee and International Secretariat, two public factions of the Trotskyist Fourth International, healed a ten-year split on the basis of a principled program. They held a common world congress and elected a common leadership body, the United Secretariat.

The SWP, which was politically allied with the International Committee, strongly supported the reunification, although it could not affiliate with the united international organization because of antidemocratic laws in the United States.

While the majority of the groups supporting the International Committee favored reunification, this sentiment was not unanimous. Healy's Socialist Labour League (predecessor to the WRP) and French Trotskyists led by Pierre Lambert opposed the reunification and refused to participate in it. Although they represented only a small minority in the original International Committee, Healy called his rump formation the "International Committee of the Fourth International."

Healy's hostility toward the Socialist Workers party and its leaders, including the late James P. Cannon, stems from their role in actively fostering this process of reunification.

Growing isolation

Healy's opposition to collaborating with Trotskyists in other countries who might differ with him on some questions is connected to his growing isolation internationally. He has reacted by silencing members bold enough to raise a critical voice. Dissenters have been expelled and discussion has been suppressed.

Parallel to the degeneration of the Healy group, the "International Committee" has disintegrated.

The French contingent (now the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste) and their co-thinkers in other countries broke from Healy in 1971, charging that he had suppressed all criticism of his policies. They formed the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRF). To Healy's consternation, this group has sought to open discussions with the Fourth International.

In the summer of 1974, Healy carried out a purge of the leadership of his American cothinkers, the Workers League. He forced the removal of Tim Wohlforth as national secretary and the suspension from membership of Nancy Fields.

Healy charged that Fields was a CIA agent and that Wohlforth had "covered up" for her. The basis of this slander was that Fields's uncle, with whom she had broken off relations many years before, had been employed by the Central Intelligence Agency until his retirement in 1961.

After the purge had been carried out, a control

commission appointed by the "International Committee" found the charges to be groundless. Fields was barred, nonetheless, from holding any responsible position in the Workers League.

By this time Wohlforth and Fields, thoroughly disillusioned by Healy's tyrannical behavior, had left the Workers League. Wohlforth wrote a description of the purge, which was published in *IP*.

In the March 31, 1975, *IP* Joseph Hansen wrote that he found Wohlforth's account wholly believable. It was internally consistent and followed the pattern of a long series of violations of workers democracy under Healy's leadership.

Subsequently, Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields decided to join the Socialist Workers party.

Disintegration

In December 1974, the WRP expelled about 200 trade unionists led by Alan Thorne who had dared to submit a document critical of Healy's policies.

At the beginning of 1976, the majority of the Greek section of Healy's "International Committee" split away. Among the reasons was the frame-up that was then being perpetrated against Joseph Hansen and George Novack.

Healy's political reasons for conducting a campaign of slander against Hansen and Novack are quite obvious: He is seeking to prejudice his followers against reading Trotskyist publications, particularly those featuring articles by Hansen and Novack or by those who share their political views. The means is to smear them as agents of Moscow's secret police.

Thus Hansen and the SWP were charged with aiding the GPU in making possible the assassination of Trotsky and with subsequently "covering up" for agents of the GPU. James P. Cannon, the founder of the American Trotskyist movement, who died in 1974, is accused of having taken part in the "cover up."

As an additional ingredient in this ugly brew, Healy charged Hansen with association with the FBI.

Healy has followed the technique of the "big lie" perfected by Stalin and Hitler. When one falsification is exposed he and his cohorts simply add new and bigger ones, counting on the effect of repetition to put them across.

Healy claims to be acting out of concern for the "security of the Fourth International." But in fact his practices are directly contrary to those of Lenin and Trotsky.

Security

In the third volume of his biography of Trotsky Isaac Deutscher described Trotsky's reactions to unproved suspicions against a supporter in Paris (Mark Zborowski) who later proved to be a Stalinist agent provocateur:

"All too many accusations had already been banded about in the small Trotskyist circle in Paris anyhow; and if all of these were to be taken seriously, there would be no end to the chasing of agents provocateurs."

"He [Trotsky] knew all too well what a curse stool-pigeons were in any organization; but he also knew that constant suspicion and witch-hunting could be even worse. He decided not to lend ear to any accusation unless it was unequivocally presented and substantiated."

"He preferred to take the gravest risks and to expose himself to extreme danger rather than to infect and demoralize his followers with distrust and scares."

Healy's procedure is the opposite of Trotsky's. Accusations of "associations" with the British, American, or Soviet secret police are utilized as a factional weapon against critics or possible critics in the Healyite movement or other organizations.

Healy's approach is in striking contrast to that of the SWP. Instead of engaging in a disruptive internal witch-hunt for "police agents," the SWP has directed its attack against the spy agencies of the capitalist government.

It should come as no surprise to anyone that Healy and his followers have given no support to the SWP's \$40 million lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and other government spy agencies.

Instead, Healy has twisted the SWP's success in forcing the FBI to admit that it had sixty-six informers posing as SWP members into "proof" that the SWP is under FBI influence. In doing so Healy merely apes identical slanders by the Stalinist head of the Communist party of the United States, Gus Hall.

Inopportune

Commenting on Healy's phony crusade for "security" in the August 20, 1976, issue of the pro-Labour party London weekly *New Statesman*, Mathew Blair wrote:

"The New York Times recently reported that the

FBI has admitted 94 burglaries of the offices of the Socialist Workers Party between 1960 and 1966. Many other violations are being cited in a lawsuit brought by the party—Trotskyism's largest single group—against the White House, the FBI, and the CIA.

"For Vanessa Redgrave [a British actress who belongs to the WRP] and her cothinkers to accuse the SWP of being penetrated by the Russian secret police is thus, to say the least of it, inopportune for the party and the lawsuit."

"Her friend Harold Robins told me that when a crime is committed you should always ask who benefits. This is a crude method of proceeding. . . . But if we apply it to the latest round of internecine accusations, then it is the FBI who stand to gain. Who is penetrating whom? The point here is not to make accusations, but to illustrate the importance of paranoia."

When George Novack wrote an article exposing Healy's frame-up of Hansen, Healy applied the logic of the big lie. He declared Novack to be an "accomplice of the GPU" as well.

The grounds for adding Novack to the frame-up stemmed from his activities in defense of democratic rights during World War II.

Together with others, Novack helped save socialists and working-class militants who were trapped in Nazi-occupied countries.

Among those who were brought to the United States through these efforts was Mark Zborowski, who was later exposed as a Soviet police spy in the Fourth International. Healy presented this as proof positive that Novack was an accomplice of the Stalinist secret police!

Hansen disposed of Healy's charges in detail in the November 24, 1975, and August 9, 1976, issues of *IP*. Hansen showed that Healy's frame-up artists had not only falsified the facts, but had stooped to tampering with and fabricating quotations in order to concoct a case against the two revolutionists.

These and other articles on Healy's slanders have been reprinted in *Healy's Big Lie*, published by the national education department of the Socialist Workers party.

Kangaroo court

Healy's "International Committee" tried to brazen out these exposures by announcing that it had "indicted" Hansen and Novack. It later declared them "guilty as charged" while demanding that they appear (for sentencing?) before a "commission of inquiry," which would be "impartial" but of which half of the members would have to meet the approval of the authors of the frame-up.

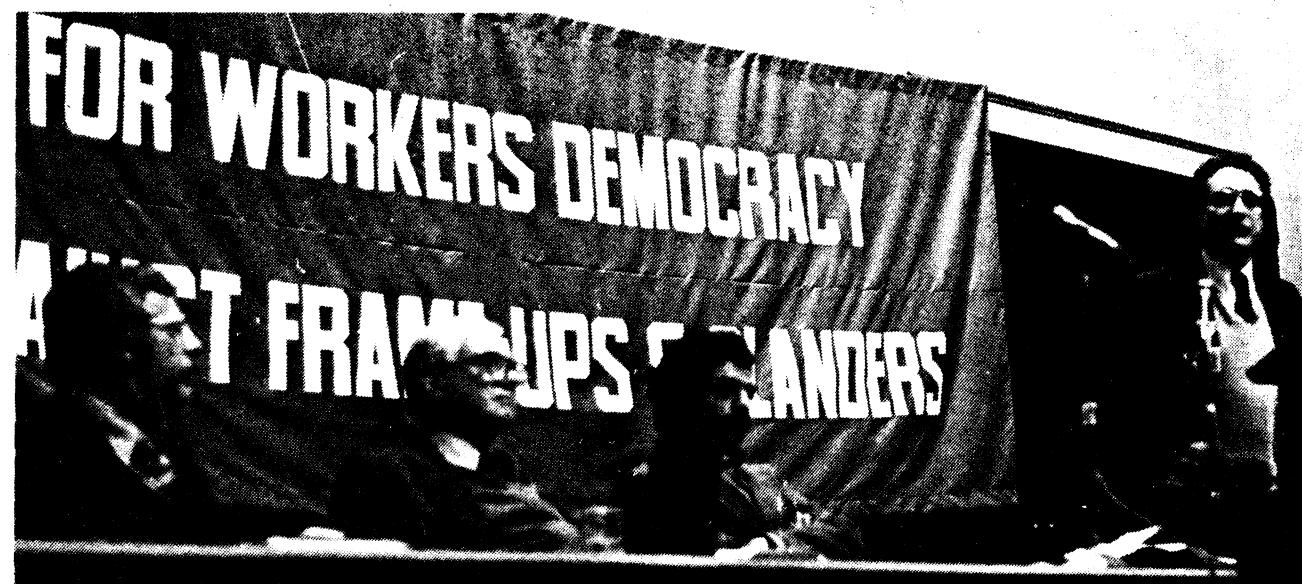
More than 170 persons—representatives of virtually every current in the world Trotskyist movement, together with past and present associates of Trotsky, Hansen, and Novack—signed a statement branding Healy's charges "a shameless frame-up."

Among the signers were Vsevolod Volkov (Trotsky's grandson), Marguerite Bonnet (an executor of Trotsky's estate), and five former secretaries or guards of Trotsky.

As was to be expected, the *News Line*, the house organ of the WRP, simply treated the signers of this declaration as new "accomplices of the accomplices" of the GPU.

The British capitalist press has played up Healy's accusations with obvious relish. The August 17 *Guardian* commented on the "internal witchhunt" among the "eternally squabbling Trotskyist groups."

The London *Times*, Britain's leading capitalist daily, tagged it as "another one of these interminable factional disputes," seeking to use Healy's



Militant/Skip Ball

Section of speakers platform at London rally. From left: Tim Wohlforth, George Novack, Tariq Ali, Ernest Mandel

antics to dismiss Trotskyism as an unattractive conglomeration of sects. Inconsistently, the *Times* has also pictured Trotskyism as an immediate threat to the right-wing leadership of the Labour party.

January 14 meeting

Under these circumstances, it was important to have a united rally in support of workers democracy and against slanders such as those perpetrated by the Healyites. The January 14 meeting, sponsored by the International Marxist Group (IMG—the British section of the Fourth International), was an effective denunciation of Healy's slander campaign. It showed that Healy is not a representative of Trotskyism, but only an imitator of Stalin's practices.

The rally was addressed by Tim Wohlforth, Pierre Lambert of the OCRFI, George Novack, and Ernest Mandel of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Also seated on the speakers' platform were Tamara Deutscher; Harry Wicks, a founder of the British Trotskyist movement; and Betty Hamilton, who has been in the revolutionary Marxist movement for fifty years. Tariq Ali, a leader of the IMG, chaired the gathering.

Messages of solidarity were sent to the meeting by six members of the editorial board of the Marxist bimonthly *New Left Review*; the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; the British Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International; the *Bulletin* Group; the League for Socialist Action; and a group of Irish revolutionists.

Tim Wohlforth, who is a member of the SWP Political Committee, described his own experience and that of Nancy Fields as targets of Healy's methods. He contrasted the blow struck by the SWP against FBI and CIA disruption of the socialist movement through its suit against the government to the destructive effects of Healy's witch-hunts. "Being on this platform, taking this stand with these comrades, yes, these comrades, is the proudest moment in my life," he concluded.

Bogus slogan?

The next speaker, Pierre Lambert, told the audience that Healy's methods were akin to those of Stalin. He blasted Healy for deriding workers democracy as a "bogus slogan."

Loud applause greeted George Novack as he rose to speak. Novack described how in the 1950s he had collaborated closely with Healy, writing articles in

the British Trotskyist press that were published under Healy's name.

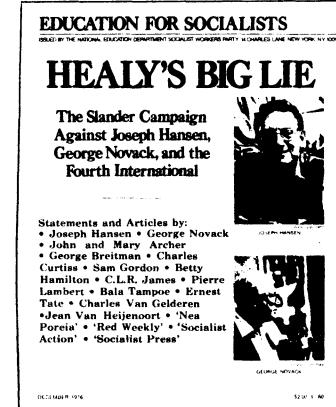
"His attitude changed from comradeship to rabid hostility after sharp differences developed between the Socialist Workers party and the unified Fourth International and his own organization. . . .

"He descended into the sewer of slander, where he could throw the most noxious muck at us."

Novack continued: "I was pulled into the scenario only after coming to the defense of the first target, Joe Hansen, as I was duty bound to do out of concern for the truth and for the sake of solidarity with my colleague. I detest frame-ups, not only because they are unjust, although that's an adequate reason, but as the worst sort of moral abomination. . . .

"The slanders first directed against us must be firmly resisted because they have since spread like an evil stain. They have broadened to embrace anyone who has raised a voice against the frame-up, whatever their views and affiliations."

A message from Michel Pablo, a former secretary of the Fourth International who now leads the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, was read at this point in the rally. He criticized the "irresponsible and absurd" accusations launched by Healy. Hansen and Novack, Pablo declared,



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"have devoted their intellectual and practical lives to defending the conception which they hold of Trotskyism. This is not the behavior of men associated in any way whatsoever with our class enemy."

Attack on Trotskyism

Ernest Mandel, speaking on behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, stated that Hansen and Novack—men "devoted to Trotskyism for forty years"—needed no defense. It was the Fourth International that was being attacked by Healy. His spy scares and slanders were casting discredit on Trotskyism and even boomeranging against his own organization.

Mandel concluded by stressing that the Fourth International would not respond in kind to Healy's blind factionalism. A mass revolutionary international will be open to people of varied political backgrounds, he said, including those in the WRP who broke with Healy's foul methods.

As the last speaker concluded, Healy, who had attended the meeting with a small group of followers, rose from his seat. His followers began to chant that he be allowed to speak.

Tariq Ali reiterated his introductory remarks in which he had explained that this meeting was "not a debate, it is not an inquisition, it is not an apology. It is a meeting of solidarity with those who have been made the victims of the most horrendous slanders we have seen in the Trotskyist movement for a long, long time." Ali's motion that no further speakers be added was overwhelmingly carried by a vote of the audience.

'Remarkable demonstration of solidarity'

The January 21 issue of the British weekly *Tribune* published an account by Mark Jenkins of the London rally that condemned Healy's slanders. The *Tribune* reflects the views of the members of the British Labour party who consider themselves in that party's left wing.

"More than 1,000 Trotskyists representing just about every international and British tendency" attended the rally, Jenkins said. These groups, he said, "put aside their political differences" in a "remarkable demonstration of solidarity with two of Trotsky's comrades and personal friends, Joseph Hansen and George Novack, who are leaders of the American Socialist Workers Party and well known scholars and publicists."

Healy's false charges, Jenkins said, "ironically, brought all Trotskyists together to denounce the Healyites, and the methods of slander. This may well turn out to be the most constructive achievement in Healy's life."

Jenkins pointed out that the SWP "has a long

history going back to the thirties and continuity of leadership."

"It was," Jenkins said, "in the forefront of bitter battles for trade union organisation and wages."

"Hansen and Novack lived through the nightmare purges of the McCarthy era and their party emerged as one of the leading forces in the black rights and anti-Vietnam war movements of the sixties and seventies. After 40 years of struggle in a country which does not yet have a Labour Party, the SWP is now engaged in a 37 million dollar lawsuit against the CIA. The party will shortly publish hundreds of hitherto secret CIA documents on surveillance of the Left in America and over 20 other countries, as a result of the suit."

"It is this proud record," Jenkins continued, "that has won for Hansen and Novack the respect of rival factions, and determination to defend their integrity."

Demand end to CIA ties at City Univ. of N.Y.

By Raúl González

NEW YORK—In early January newspapers here reported that Brooklyn College political science Prof. Michael Selzer had affiliations with the Central Intelligence Agency.

Professor Selzer acknowledged that he passed information on to the CIA and that he did so with the approval of a Brooklyn College administrator.

In addition, Selzer said, he personally knows of "six or seven other people in CUNY [City University of New York] who do the same thing."

The issue of government spying was first brought before the Brooklyn College political science department last November by Prof. Michael Kahan. Kahan maintained he knew of Selzer's CIA dealings since early 1976 but remained silent in hopes he could talk Selzer out of continuing.

Selzer's colleagues in the department then released a statement condemning the use of college faculty members for covert intelligence gathering operations. They called it "a corruption of the basic purpose of the scholar."

Selzer's department cited similar statements by the American Associa-

tion of University Professors, the American Anthropological Association, the Council of the American Political Science Association, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Most of these statements were issued after a report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence revealed last year "several hundred" university staff members across the country were engaged in undercover spying for the CIA or FBI.

Students at Brooklyn College are circulating a statement protesting CIA spying on campus. The statement was initiated by the student body president and chairperson of the Brooklyn College Student Assembly. The statement calls for "an investigation, independent of the administration or of government agencies, into the extent of CIA involvement in the CUNY system. . . .

"The goal of such an investigation," the statement adds, "would be to make public any and all findings on past and present CIA operations on American campuses and to demand an immediate end to all infiltration of the CUNY system."

ALBANY, N.Y.

MALCOLM X AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. A film. Fri., Feb. 25, 7 p.m. Arbor Hill Community Center, 50 N. Lark. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (518) 449-1380.

ATLANTA: EAST

MALCOLM X: HIS IDEAS LIVE ON. Featuring a slide show. Speaker: James Harris, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th C.D. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 471-A Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 688-6739.

BALTIMORE

WE ARE THE PALESTINIANS. A film. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 2117 N. Charles. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BERKELEY, CALIF.

SADLowski's CHALLENGE IN STEEL: WHAT IT MEANS FOR U.S. POLITICS. Speaker: Jack Barnes. Sat., Feb. 26, 8 p.m. 3264 Adeline. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210 or 653-7156.

BOSTON: FENWAY-SOUTH END

THE NEW ENERGY CRISIS. Speakers: Bill Rayson, SWP; representative of Clam Shell Alliance. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

DETROIT: WEST SIDE

MALCOLM X: THE MAN, HIS IDEAS, NEW EVIDENCE OF GOVERNMENT COMPLICITY IN HIS ASSASSINATION. Featuring excerpts from recordings of Malcolm X speaking. Speaker: B.R. Washington, SWP. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 18415 Wyoming. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 341-6436 or 961-5675.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

A TRIBUTE TO MALCOLM X. Speaker: Sam Manuel, SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 3322 Anaheim. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

IN COMMEMORATION OF MALCOLM X. The Langston Hughes Players will perform plays written and directed by Black playwright Frank Greenwood. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. Golden St. Mutual Life Insurance Auditorium, 1999 W. Adams (corner Western). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

the USGS's own (hitherto secret) estimate of the reserves in the Gulf, the Moss staff was able to make the first direct comparison between the AGA's detailed estimates of reserves in a specific group of fields and another set of estimates for the same fields that were based on the companies' own raw data.

"Moss found that the USGS estimate was 60 percent higher than the AGA's: 23.5 trillion feet for USGS, 14.7 trillion for AGA.

"Thus, in only 153 fields (2.4 percent of the nation's 6300 fields) AGA apparently had missed 8.8 trillion feet of gas. This is a little more than twice as much as the estimated 3.5 trillion feet of delivery curtailments that are involved in this winter's gas crisis."

Miller's findings make a convincing case that working people cannot depend on Washington to level with us about the energy giants' real gas reserves and profit margins.

We will only learn the truth when the records of those corporations are opened for public inspection by committees of trade unionists and consumers.

Any honest investigation would turn up lies and half-truths even more flagrant than those cited by Miller. It would deepen public sentiment that these companies should be nationalized and run by and for working people.

Decisions that affect the lives and jobs of millions cannot be left to private interests that are ready to say or do anything—no matter what the human toll—to boost their profits.

...bilingual

Continued from page 16

would replace the bilingual program with an inadequately funded tutorial program.

In response to this assault many in

NEWARK: BROADWAY

THE DEATH PENALTY: LEGALIZED MURDER. Speakers: Donald Clark, New Jersey Council of Churches; José G. Pérez, *Militant* staff writer. Fri., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. 256 Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 482-3367.

NEWARK: WEEQUAHIC

THE DEATH PENALTY: LEGALIZED MURDER. Speakers: Agapito Diaz, deputy director Puerto Rican Congress of N.J.; Hope Jackson, Newark Human Rights Commission; Larry Stewart, SWP. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 403 Chancellor Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 923-2284.

OAKLAND, CALIF.

ROOTS OF BLACK AMERICA. Speakers: Paul Bouteille, SWP candidate for mayor of Oakland; others. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

PHILADELPHIA

MALCOLM X AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. A film. Speaker: Omari Musa, *Militant* staff writer. Wed., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. First Methodist Church, Germantown Ave. & High St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) EV7-2451 or VI4-2874.

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. Speaker: Paula Savich. Tues., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. Yuma Room, Memorial Union, Arizona State University. Donation: \$1. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (602) 255-0450.

PITTSBURGH

ENERGY CRISIS: REAL OR RIP-OFF? Speaker: Richard Hayden, national issues chairperson for Friends of the Earth; William McCaughey, SWP; others. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. (near Negley). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

ST. LOUIS

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for vice-president in 1972; Helen Savio, SWP candidate for mayor of St. Louis; Mary Pritchard, SWP candidate for comptroller. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar. Donation: \$1. Ausp: St. Louis Socialist Workers 1977 Campaign Committee. For more information call (314) 725-1570 or 381-0044.

ST. PAUL

THE RIGHT TO DECENT HOUSING. Speakers: Pam Weiloch, co-coordinator of tenants strike, 1247 St. Anthony; Ginne Burke, SWP. Fri., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 176 Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

the Chicano communities have united—and many Anglos as well.

Ross Barrett, a Colorado Springs parent, told Showalter that he spoke for 850 parents in Colorado Springs who like the program and want it extended to more grades.

"I think this is fantastic," Barrett said. "My son came home the other day and told me that there was a new boy in his class. He mentioned the boy's name; it was a Spanish surname, I think.

"I asked him, 'Is he a Mexican?' "And he said, 'No, dad, he's a boy.' "

"If we are ever going to get rid of racism in this country," Barrett concluded, "we can get rid of it through the educational system."

For the 1976-77 school year, 22,000 of the 89,000 Hispanic students in Colorado and 14,000 non-Hispanic students are enrolled in bilingual programs.

Most of the 14,000 non-Hispanics are Anglos whose parents have chosen to put them in the special classes. There are many other Chicanos and Anglos who would enroll in the classes if they were fully extended to higher grades and funded more adequately.

Maintaining the state law and spreading its benefits to all who want or need bilingual-bicultural education is a major task facing the Chicano community.

Everett Chavez, a professor of Chicano studies and longtime activist in the Chicano movement here, summed it up:

"The people who resist bilingual-bicultural education do so on the basis that Chicanos must be 'Americanized.' The Chicano, they believe, must forget who he is, forget his language, forget his culture, forget his world views and traditional ways.

"In short, they want to deny Chicano people our rights. We have the state law . . . but it will take some big mobilizations of Chicano people to ensure that what's on the law books is enforced."

WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?

THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X

By George Breitman, Herman Porter, and Baxter Smith. One assassin was caught at the scene. He confessed at the trial. But the prosecution and police never pursued the central question: *Who paid him to pull the trigger?* 192 pages, cloth \$8.00, paper \$1.95

COINTELPRO

The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom

By Nelson Blackstock with an introduction by Noam Chomsky. "These documents prove beyond any doubt that the FBI—through Democratic and Republican administrations—has deliberately tried to destroy legitimate American organizations and nullify the Bill of Rights. These disclosures are more damning than Watergate."—Robert Allen, editor, *The Black Scholar* 216 pages, cloth \$9.00, paper \$2.95

Order by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, or come by any bookstore listed in the socialist directory on the inside back page. Complete, free catalog of revolutionary socialist literature available on request.



...Smith

Continued from back page

babewans in a civilian refugee camp. Similar attacks into Mozambique have occurred since that time.

By headlining Smith's charges against the nationalists—and either not reporting or downplaying denials by liberation groups and the white government's own atrocities—the U.S. media hope to moderate growing sentiment in this country for immediate Black majority rule in Zimbabwe.

Staged incidents of this sort also serve the Smith regime as a convenient pretext for widening its war against the liberation forces. Smith, for example, has been threatening to strike even farther into Mozambican territory in "preventative" or "retaliatory" actions.

Smear campaigns like Smith's are the stock-in-trade of war propaganda. During the Vietnam War, Washington constantly tried to portray Vietnamese liberation fighters as "terrorists"—both to cover up its own butchery and to prepare public opinion for military offensives.

Massacres such as My Lai were everyday occurrences, part and parcel of Washington's "pacification program." Not to mention the unloading of more bomb tonnage over that country than was dropped by the United States and its allies during all of World War II.

Countering Smith's barrage of lies and his plans to widen Rhodesia's military operation makes even more urgent the March 25 and 26 actions called by the National Student Coalition Against Racism to demand immediate majority rule in southern Africa.

...oil

Continued from page 5

Miller also describes how the United States Geological Survey (USGS) makes its estimate of the reserves in government-owned gas fields leased to private companies. It turns out that the USGS estimate is based on data provided by these companies.

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OHIO:

Los Angeles march: 'Desegregate schools!'

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—Under a cloudless sky, the February 12 March for School Integration stepped off from city hall here to demand just one thing: that the Los Angeles school system be fully desegregated without delay.

The chanting crowd of about 1,600 marched through downtown Los Angeles to the board of education offices, where a rally was held.

Thirteen years ago the NAACP and American Civil Liberties Union filed suit against the Los Angeles School Board to end segregated education.

Years later the California Supreme Court so ordered.

Now the school board has come up with a sham "compliance" plan that will bus just a handful of children to "integrated education centers" for only nine weeks out of the entire school year.

At the demonstration, contingents began arriving an hour before the march stepped off, many of them carrying their own banners and picket signs. The gathering included an NAACP contingent, members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Council of Black Administrators, Student Coalition Against Racism, American Federation of Teachers, New American Movement, Communist party, and Socialist Workers Campaign.

As marchers arrived at the rally site, there was a short break before the speakers began. Many headed for the water fountain. Others, like myself, stepped out of the blazing sun into the shade of nearby trees.

"Why are you here today?" I asked a young Black woman standing next to me.

"Things should be better in the schools," she said. "Something has to be done to integrate them." A senior at Polytechnic High School, she had come to the demonstration with others from her school, as did many other Black students.

As the rally began, speakers echoed her feelings.

Diane Watson, a Black member of the school board, said that the sentiment for school desegregation is widespread in Los Angeles, and that the demonstrators represented greater numbers.

"We are not alone," she declared. "There are thousands and millions of people that agree with us."

Tyrone Tayborn, a high school student active in the desegregation movement, pointed to the 1954 Supreme Court decision that ruled school segregation unconstitutional. In spite of that decision, he said, Blacks and other minorities are still excluded



Militant/Bruce Marcus
Student Coalition Against Racism contingent in Los Angeles march.

from the mainstream of American education.

"We are still telling some of our citizens that they are only half a person, with half the rights . . . opportunity . . . and dignity, after more than 200 years. This is the time for us, once and for all, to abolish segregation."

Among others addressing the rally were Henry Dotson, Los Angeles chapter president of the NAACP; the Right Rev. H.H. Brookins, a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and a leader of Operation PUSH and the SCLC; David Cunningham, a Black member of the Los Angeles City Council; and Claude Hudson, former president of the Los Angeles NAACP and a longtime leader in the Black community.

The sentiment expressed by many speakers was that more marches, rallies, and demonstrations would be necessary to win school desegregation.

Brookins compared the march to the 1960s civil rights demonstrations in the South. He put the crowd's determination into words.

"We are not afraid," he said. "We'll come back tomorrow. We'll come back next week. We'll come back as many times as we have to, until we win."

Marchers cheered "right on" at the end of his talk.

The night before the Saturday demonstration, community leaders and supporters of the desegregation movement met at the Crenshaw YMCA in Los Angeles for a meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

Speakers were Charles Johnson, head of the Southern California region NAACP; Raúl Wilson, member of Padres Unidos, a Chicano parents' group that is fighting for desegregated, bilingual-bicultural education; Karen Carter from the Student Coalition Against Racism; and Sam Manuel, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Los Angeles.

More than 100 people attended the forum.

Raúl Wilson outlined the devastating effects the current school system has on Chicano children. He said that Chicanos, like Blacks, are lied to and not taught their real history.

Wilson and his organization, Padres Unidos, are fighting to win a school system that will teach minorities the truth about the source of their oppression.

Sam Manuel struck down some myths about busing. Referring to the "voluntary busing" plan called for by opponents of school desegregation, Manuel explained, "School desegregation is the law of the land. Since when is obeying the law voluntary? It's only when it comes to desegregation that people start talking about 'voluntarily' abiding by the law. When was the last time you 'volunteered' to stop for a red traffic light?"

More than 50 percent of the nation's schoolchildren are currently bused to school, he went on. The only time there is opposition, however, is when the children are being bused to desegregated schools.

"We should look at tomorrow's demonstration as a chance to begin building the movement that will win desegregation," Manuel said. "It will be an uphill fight, but the Los Angeles School Board is by no means stronger than the millions of people we can help bring into this movement!"

Smith smears Zimbabwe liberation groups

By John Hawkins

This winter Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith's white minority regime has been waging a propaganda offensive designed to smear the Zimbabwean liberation fighters.

The major U.S. media have fallen in behind Smith, parroting official Rhodesian accounts of a February 6 attack on a Catholic mission near Salisbury, capital of Smith's racist regime.

According to reports in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, a dozen armed Black men, uniformed like the Zimbabwean liberation forces, entered the mission at about 10:00 p.m.

February 6. After herding eight white missionaries onto a nearby road, they opened fire. Seven of the eight were killed, including four nuns and two priests.

The Smith regime jumped to blame the killings on the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), led by Robert Mugabe.

However, in a statement broadcast from neighboring Mozambique the following day, the Patriotic Front—a union of ZANU and the Zimbabwe African People's Union, led by Joshua Nkomo—denied the charge.

The Patriotic Front pointed the finger of blame at the Rhodesian

army's notorious all-Black Selous Scouts unit. The Scouts are known to have carried out similar terror raids in the past.

Staging such a raid and blaming it on the liberation fighters fits perfectly into Smith's campaign to win international support for continued white minority rule and to discredit the nationalist groups among that country's radicalizing Black population.

Smith is trying to use this incident to turn attention away from the daily atrocities committed by Rhodesian armed forces.

During the week of the mission raid alone, government troops gunned

down twenty-eight Black civilians—twelve for violating curfew laws, sixteen for "running with terrorists."

An incident similar to the February 6 raid made headlines toward the end of last year. Twenty-seven Black tea plantation workers were massacred in front of their families. Smith tried to pin this on the liberation forces. But nationalist groups said that this too was the work of the Selous Scouts.

In August the Rhodesian army struck deep into Mozambique in an attack on what it called an insurgent camp. In reality the assault left in its wake more than 600 butchered Zim-

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